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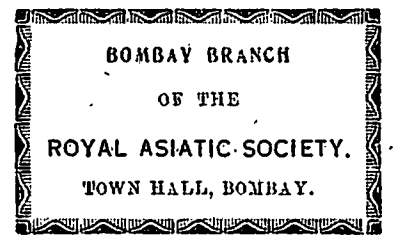


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AN

# HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

# LIVES AND WRITINGS

OF

# James I. and Charles I.

AND OF

# THE LIVES

OF

# Oliver Cromwell and Charles II.

AFTER THE MANNER OF MR. BAYLE.

FROM

ORIGINAL WRITERS AND STATE-PAPERS.

BY WILLIAM HARRIS.

A NEW EDITION,

WITH A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, A GENERAL INDEX, &c.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

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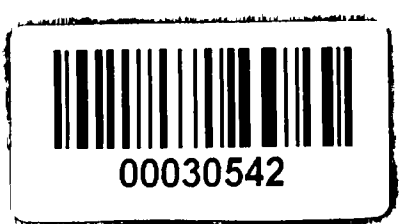


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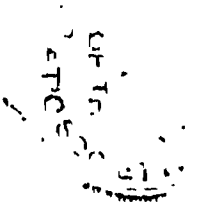

AN

# HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL

# ACCOUNT

OF THE

# LIFE

OF

# Charles II.

KING OF GREAT BRITAIN.

# THE LIFE

OF

# CHARLES II.

KING OF GREAT BRITAIN.

CHARLES Stuart, the second of that name, King of Great Britain, son of Charles the First, and Henrietta Maria of France, was born on the twenty-ninth of May, one thousand six hundred and thirty. Some particulars attending his birth, and baptism, will be found below [1].

[1] Some particulars relating to his birth and baptism.] The queen had a son, named Charles, the preceding year, who died very soon after his birth. "This year," says Perincheif, "Heaven was liberal to his majesty, in giving him a son to inherit his dominions; which was so great a matter of rejoicing to the people of uncorrupted minds, that Heaven seemed also concerned in the exultation, kindling another fire more than ordinary, making a star to be seen the same day at noon (from which most men presaged, that that prince should be of high undertakings, and of no common

We know little more of his education,

glory among kings: which hath been since confirmed by the miraculous preservation of him; and Heaven seemed to conduct him to the throne). For this great blessing, the king gave public thanks to the author of it, Almighty God, at St. Paul's church; and God was pleased, in return to those thanks, with a numerous issue afterwards to increase this happiness[a]." It is possible, however, his numerous issue might not be a matter of very high consolation to his majesty in his solitude and sufferings!——The appearance of the star above-mentioned was expressed beaming from the center of a small birth-piece struck on this occasion, and still to be seen in the cabinets of the curious. This star is taken notice of by Waller, and made matter of compliment to the prince whose birth it attended:

> His thoughts rise higher, when he does reflect
> On what the world may from that Star expect,
> Which at his birth appeared; to let us see,
> Day, for his sake, could with the night agree:
> A prince on whom such different lights did smile,
> Born the divided world to reconcile!

If we may credit lord Baltimore, the birth of young Charles was received with all expressions of joy in Spain. In a letter to lord Wentworth, dated Castle-yard, Aug. 12, 1630, he thus expresses himself: "My lord ambassador——will tell you perhaps with what joy the news of our prince's birth was received in the court of Spain; the king, queen, and all the court in bravery; not so much as the young infant of so many months old but had his feather on his cap, all the town full of masks and music: and not only the temporal

[a] Life of K. Charles, prefixed to his Works, p. 8. fol. Lond. 1687.

than that, according to the then and pre-

state but the spiritual express their gladness. The heads of the clergy, and all the religious houses in the city, came to the ambassador, in the name of their bodies, to congratulate with him the birth of the prince; and solemn masses and prayers were said for his health and prosperity every where[a]." This must have been a fine farce!—Let us now proceed to relate some circumstances attending the baptism of prince Charles: they are related by Mr. Samuel Meddus, in a letter to Mr. Joseph Mede, dated July 2, 1630.——

"Prince Charles was baptised last Lord's day, about four in the afternoon, at St. James's, in the king's little chapple there (not in the queen's), by my Lord of London [Laud] deane of the chaple, assisted by the bishop of Norwich, almoner. The gossips were, the French king, the palsgrave, and the queen mother of France. The deputies, the duke of Lenox, marquis Hamilton, and the duchesse of Richmond; which last was exceeding bountifull. The ordinance and chambers of the Tower [were discharged], the bells did ring, and at night were in the streets plenty of flaming bonfires. The duchesse was sent for by two lords, dyvers knights and gentlemen, six footmen, and coach with six horses plumed (all the queens), and alighted not without the gate but within the court. Her retinue were six women, and gentlemen I know not how many. But all, of both sexes, were clad in white sattine garnished with crimson, and crimson silke stockings. I hear not of any presents from the gossips; but the duchesse, for her own particular, presented to the queen for the prince a jewel estimated at 7 or 8000*l.*

[a] Strafford's State Papers, vol. I. p. 53. fol. Lond. 1739.

sent custom [1], he had an ecclesiastic for his

to the melch nurse a chain of rubies, estimated at 200*l.* to the midwife and dry nurse, store of massy plate; to the six rockers, each, a fair cup, a salt, and a dozen of spoons. All the lords also gave plate to the nurse. Besides, the duchesse gave to every knight and gentleman of the queens who came for her, and brought her back to her house in the Strand, 50 pieces; to the coachman, 20: and to every of the 6 foot men, 10 pieces. There were neither lords or knights made that I hear of, as there was said would be [1]."—These are trifling things, it must be confessed;—but, as they mark strongly the character of the age, and the court, they will not be, I am persuaded, unacceptable to some of the most intelligent readers.

[1] He had an ecclesiastic for his tutor.] The education of princes is of so great importance to the state, that too great care cannot be taken of it. As the superintendency of the public, and the execution of its laws, is submitted to sovereigns, it behoves those to whose tuition they are intrusted, to inculcate deeply on their minds their high duty of taking the utmost pains for the welfare of the communities over which they preside; the glory and happiness of acting an honest and a worthy part; and the perpetual infamy which will attend them, if, following their passions, or, which is sometimes much worse, their parasites, they act a mean, a base, a little one. To reverence themselves, and the public; to have high notions of honour and justice, generosity and magnanimity; to consider themselves as the servants of the community over which they preside; and bound by its laws, and

[1] Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, vol. II. b. xii. p. 36. fol. Lond. 1735.

tutor, Brian Duppa; who, though of a sweet temper, was, if we may believe Burnet, no way fit for his post[a]. Being

their own interest as inseparable from that of the people; ought to be the daily lesson of young princes. "The king," it should be told them, "is superior to the people; but the laws are superior to him. The laws commit the care of the people to him as the most valuable of all trusts, with this condition, that he shall be the father of his subjects. The intention of these laws is precisely this, that one man, by his wisdom and moderation, shall be the instrument of felicity to whole nations; and not that whole nations shall, by their misery and abject slavery, serve to pamper the pride and luxury of one man. The king's revenue ought not to be more than is necessary, either for his support in his painful office, or to infuse into the people that respect which is due to him, who is to inforce the execution of the laws. Besides this, the king ought to be more sober, more an enemy to idleness, more free from pride and ostentation, than any other man. He is not to exceed others in wealth and pleasure; but in wisdom, virtue, and glory. Abroad, he is to defend his country at the head of its armies; and at home, he is to dispense justice to his people, to make them good, wise, and happy. 'Tis not for his own sake that the gods have appointed him king, but for his people's. 'Tis to them he owes all his time, all his cares, all his watchings, all his affection; and he is no otherwise worthy of his kingdom, but in proportion as he forgets his own personal interests to sacrifice himself to the public

[a] Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. I. p. 177.

a little more advanced in years, he had successively the Earls of Newcastle, Hertford, and Berkshire for his governors, who,

good[a]." These are the sentiments of the excellent Fenelon, one of the most worthy of ecclesiastics, and the tutor of a son of France. Whether he was capable of talking to his pupil in a strain thus free and noble, is perhaps a question; though doubtless he was as much so as any of his order; for the well-known rise to preferment among this sort of men is by complaisance, flattery, servility, court-services, and intrigues, which put them on their guard, make them cautious of offending, and prone to advance what is pleasing to those who may be able still to befriend them. For these reasons a noble writer of our own observes, "that, had those countries, which in modern times have lost their liberty, whilst they were free, committed the government of their youth to philosophers instead of priests, they had in all probability preserved themselves from the yoke of bondage to this day; whereas now, they not only endure it, but approve of it likewise.—*Tantum religio potuit.* The Greeks and Romans instituted their academies to quite another purpose; the whole education of their youth tended to make them as useful to the society they lived in as possible. There they were trained up to exercise and labour, to accustom them to an active life: no vice was more infamous than sloth, nor any man more contemptible than him that was too lazy to do all the good he could; the lectures of their philosophers served to quicken them up to this. They recommended above

[a] Telemachus, b. v.

through the hurry of the times, or their want of application, afforded him but few helps towards his improvement. Every one

all things, the duty to their country, the preservation of the laws, and the public liberty; subservient to which they preached up moral virtues, such as fortitude, temperance, justice, a contempt of death, &c. Sometimes they made use of pious cheats, as Elisian Fields, and an assurance of future happiness, if they died in the cause of their country; and even deceived their hearers into greatness. Hence proceed all those noble characters wherewith their histories are so stocked: hence it was that their philosophers were deservedly looked upon as supports of the state they had their dependence upon; and as they could have no interest distinct from it, they laid out themselves towards the advancing and promoting the good of it, insomuch that we find the very fortune of their commonwealths lasted no longer than they did. The managers of our modern education have not been quite so public-spirited; for it has been, as I have shewn, for the most part, in the hands of men who have a distinct interest from the public: therefore 'tis not to be wondered at, if, like the rest of the world, they have been biassed by it, and directed their principal design towards advancing their own fortunes.—'Twas not to learn foreign languages, that the Grecian and Roman youth went for so long together to the academies and lectures of their philosophers;—'twas to learn how and when to speak pertinently, how to act like a man, to subdue the passions, to be public-spirited, to despise death, torments and reproach, riches, and the smiles of princes as well as their frowns, if they stood between

knows Mr. Hobbes instructed him in the mathematics, and was much regarded by him after his restoration.

them and their duty. This manner of education produced men of another stamp than appears now upon the theatre of the world; such as we are scarce worthy to mention, and must never hope to imitate till the like manner of institution grows again into reputation, which in enslaved countries 'tis never likely to do as long as the ecclesiastics, who have an opposite interest, keep not only the education of youth but the consciences of old men in their hands[a]." I mean not, by any thing here said, to undervalue the industry, the learning, or abilities of the clergy. Many of them are highly eminent. But the education of gentlemen, gentlemen intended for legislators, and governors of a people distinguished by their love of liberty, ought to be committed to the care of such to whom liberty is dear, who have been used to manly freedom, and who are capable of relishing and making others relish its invaluable blessings. Not but even ecclesiastics are infinitely to be preferred to those who instil nothing valuable into the mind,—but form the petit maitres, the debauchees, the village-tyrants, or the understrappers of power in the higher stations of life.—I have said, after Burnet, that Duppa was no way fit for his post. Wood however assures us, "he was a man of excellent parts, and every way qualified for his function; especially as to the comliness of his person, and gracefulness of his deportment, which rendered him worthy the service of a court, and every way fit to

[a] Molesworth's Works, Pref. to his Account of Denmark.

Hampden, who makes so noble a figure in this part of our history, it is said, was once proposed [3] for tutor, or rather, as I

stand before princes: and that when he was translated from Salisbury to Winchester, at the restoration, it was to the great joy and comfort of many lords and gentlemen, as well as the reverend clergy, who all had a deep sense and memory of his prudence and piety, owing him a lasting tribute, not only for his great example of virtue and godliness, but for those excellent seeds and principles so happily laid in the youth of the then sovereign lord the king. He was beloved of King Charles I. of happy memory, who made use of his pious conversation during his imprisonment in the isle of Wight; and so much respected by King Charles II. that when this worthy prelate lay on his death-bed at Richmond, he craved his blessing on his bended knees by his bed-side[a]." I suppose, being an apt scholar, his majesty might have learned, from his lordship, the mighty value of his boon. Such as know Dr. Duppa owed some of his preferment to George Villiers, will not think themselves at a loss about his real character.

[3] Hampden was once proposed as tutor or governor to the prince.] Mr. Whitlock, speaking concerning the preliminaries to lord Strafford's trial, says, "There was a proposal (the subject of much discourse) to prevent all this trouble, and to restore the earl of Strafforde to his former favour and honour; if the king would prefer some of the grandees to offices at court, whereby Straffordes enemies should become his friends,

[a] Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. II. c. 273. Lond. 1721. fol.

think, governor to the prince; but, fortunately for his own character, fortunately for the nation, it took not place: though

and the kings desires be promoted. It was that should be made lord treasurer, the lord Say master of the wards, Mr. Pym chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Hollis secretary of state, Mr. Hampden tutor to the prince, others to have other places. In order whereunto, the bishop of London [Juxon] resigned up his treasurers staff, the lord Cothington his place of master of the wards, and the rest were easily to be voided. But whether upon the kings alteration of his mind, or by what other means it came to pass, is uncertain: these things were not effected; and the great men baffled thereby, became the more incensed, and violent against the earl, joining with the Scots commissioners who were implacable against him[a]." Had Hampden, and his glorious fellow patriots, accepted the high posts which they were designed by this project to have filled, it is not improbable but their characters would have sunk as low in the eyes of posterity, as the false patriots in more modern times; who, under the guise of good men with upright intentions and disinterested views, forced themselves into power, and, when possessed of it, used it to as bad purposes as their predecessors. "Of all modern virtues, patriotism has stood the test the worst. The great Strafforde, with the eloquence of Tully and the heroism of Epaminondas, had none of the steadiness of the latter. Hampden, less stained, cannot but be suspected of covering ambitious thoughts with

[a] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 41. fol. Lond. 1732.

he was undoubtedly capable of filling the post with honour and advantage to his pupil.

the mantle of popular virtue.—In the partition of employments on a treaty with the king, his contenting himself with asking the post of governor to the prince, seems to me to have had at least as deep a tincture of self-interestness as my lord Strafforde had, who strode at once from demagogue to prime minister[a]." It seems therefore to have happened very fortunately, as I have said, for Hampden's character, that he escaped the temptation, and therefore carried down an unsullied name to posterity. He might, however, in the trial have come off conqueror.

The coalition of these patriots and courtiers would have had also infinite bad effects on the public. The instruments of tyranny would have escaped unpunished, perhaps uncensured; and, emboldened by impunity, have increased the burdens then too heavy to bear. But above all, the great and noble struggle for liberty made by Hampden, and his fellows, in arms, against tyranny and the tyrant, would never have had an existence;—the noble example would have been lost;—and the means of recalling liberty remained unknown.—What Hampden's character was in the eyes of his enemies, we must learn from Clarendon, who says, "when this parliament begun (being returned knight of the shire for the county where he lived) the eyes of all men were fixed upon him as their *patriæ pater*, and the pilot that must steer the vessel, through the tempests and rocks which threatened it. And I am

[a] Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. II. p. 18. 8vo. Lond. 1759.

After the treaty of Uxbridge, the prince was sent into the west[4]; constituted general of an association for petitioning or com-

perswaded, his power and interest, at that time, was greater to do good or hurt, than any man in the kingdom, or than any man of his rank hath had in any time: for his reputation of honesty was universal, and his affections seemed so publicly guided, that no corrupt or private ends could byass them.——He was very temperate in diet, and a supream governour over all his passions and affections, and had thereby a great power over other mens. He was of an industry and vigilance not to be tired out, or wearied by the most laborious; and of parts not to be imposed upon, by the most subtle, or sharp; and of a personal courage equal to his best parts; so that he was an enemy not to be wished wherever he might have been made a friend; and as much to be apprehended where he was so, as any man could deserve to be." What a character this!—must not every one stand amazed that his lordship should conclude (for his lordship it is, and not his editors, as has been groundlesly promulgated), "What has been said of Cinna, might be well applied to him; he had a head to contrive, and a tongue to perswade, and a hand to execute any mischief[a]." Few readers will submit to this decree from the chancellor of human nature; if indeed a man who paid no regard to truth in his writings, can have the least pretence to so honourable a character.

[4] The prince was sent into the west.] "The king," says Clarendon, "spoke to those he trusted most at that

[a] Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 266. vol. III. 8vo. Oxon. 1712.

pelling the parliament to a peace; and general of all the forces of England. On account of his youth a council was assigned

time, with much more melancholy of his own condition, and the state of his affairs, than he had used to do.——So that his majesty told them, "He found it absolutely necessary to pursue his former resolution of separating the prince his son from himself, that the enemy might not, upon any success, find them together; which, he said, would be ruin to them both; whereas, though he should fall into their hands whilst his son was at liberty, they would not dare to do him harm." He seemed to have very reasonable apprehensions, that upon the loss of a battle, he might become a prisoner; but he never imagined, that it would enter into their thoughts to take away his life; not that he believed they could be restrained from that impious act by any remorse of conscience, or that they had not wickedness enough to design and execute it: but he believed it against their interest; and would often, in discourse, say, of what moment the preservation of his life was to the rebels; and how much they were concerned to preserve it, in regard, that if he himself were dead, the parliament stood dissolved; so that there would be an end of their government: which though it were true in law, would have little shaken their power, of which they were too long possessed to part with it easily. This was a speculation of that nature, that nobody had reason to endeavour to change the king's opinion in that particular; and his majesty thought of nothing so much as hastning the prince's journey; and to that purpose, commanded those who were appointed to attend him to be ready

him by his majesty. But nothing of consequence was done by council or army. The parliament forces, under Sir Thomas

by a short day, resolving that his highness should make his journey directly to Bristol, and continue his residence there till some emergent alteration should make his remove from thence necessary.—There happened an accident at this time, that reconciled the mind of many to this journey of the prince into the west, and looked like a good omen that it would produce good effects; though it proved afterwards an occasion of much trouble and inconvenience. When the king returned through Somersetshire, after the defeat of the earl of Essex in Cornwall, there had been a petition delivered to him, in the names of the gentry, clergy, freeholders, and others his majesty's protestant subjects of the county of Somerset, in which they desired, that his majesty would give them leave to petition the parliament, that there might be a treaty for peace; and that they might have liberty to wait upon his majesty in person in his march; and that when they came to a nearer distance, they might then go before, and deliver their petition; and if they should not obtain their so just request, they would then assist his majesty to get that by the sword, which could be obtained no other way: to that purpose they desired leave to put themselves in arms, to attend his majesty in his journey.—The king gave them a gracious reception, and liberty to do all that they desired; believing it possible, that he might even from thence recruit his foot; which he most desired. But his majesty's speedy march left that design to be better weighed and digested. Upon the fame of the prince's being to visit

Fairfax, were every where victorious, through their own bravery and conduct,

the west, and to keep his court there, some gentlemen, of the best quality in the west, came to Oxford, as entrusted by the rest to acquaint his majesty, that they had now formed the design, they had formerly presented to him, much better than it was; and that the four western counties, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, had resolved to enter into an association, and to be joint petitioners to the parliament for peace; —and whosoever refused to join in the petition, should be looked upon as enemies to peace, and their country, and accordingly treated; so that this address could not but have great influence upon the parliament, being under the style of one and all; and could not but be look'd upon as such. They desired the king, that the prince might be made general of this association; in order to which, they would provide for his support according to his dignity; and, in the first place, take care for the raising a good guard of horse and foot, for the safety of his person.—Upon these reasons, the prince had two commissions granted to him; one to be general of the association; and another, to be general of all the king's forces in England[a]."—This was only a matter of form: the youth and inexperience of the prince rendered it impossible for him to execute either of these commissions.

The same writer, in another work, tells us, that on the day the prince began his journey towards the west, his majesty sent for him, the historian, "and repeated some things he had mentioned before. He told him there had been many things which had troubled him,

[a] Hist. of the Reb llion, vol. IV. p. 601.—604.

as well as the rapine, cowardice, and dissensions of their[5] adversaries.——His ma-

with reference to his son's absence from him; for all which but one he had satisfied himself: the one was, the inconvenience which might arise from the weakness and folly of his governor [Berkshire]; against which he had provided as well as he could, by obliging the prince to follow the advice of his council in all things; which he was assured he would do; and he had given them as much authority as they could wish[a]." The chief of this council were the chancellor of the exchequer, and the lord Colepepper. It was on the 4th of March, 1764, O. S. that the prince parted from his father, and began his journey for Bristol, from whence he removed to Barnstable, and afterwards into Cornwall. This was the last interview between them.

[5] The parliament forces were every where victorious, through their own valour, as well as the rapine, &c. of their adversaries.] If lord Clarendon's account is any way to be relied on, there never was a more abandoned set of men than those who composed the several little armies the king had in the west. The Gorings and the Greenvilles are painted in as bad colours as the pretended rebels themselves; nor can any thing, almost, be added to their detestable forms. Of the first his lordship says, "he valued not his promises, professions, or friendships, according to any rules of honour, or integrity[b]:" and the latter is described by him as a monster of cruelty, villany, and impudence[c]. Under such leaders, it is not to be wondered, that the

[a] Life of Lord Clarendon, vol. I. p. 105. 8vo. Oxon. 1759. [b] Id. vol. IV. p. 555. [c] See vol. IV. p. 534, 539.

jesty having ordered the prince, in case of necessity, to go into France, and there to

soldiery was mutinous, disobedient, rapacious, and cowardly.——Goring's crew is still proverbial in the west. Fairfax, after having driven all before him, came up with and easily defeated the remains of these bodies at Torrington, then under the command of lord Hopton, which totally dissolved the western army. For, by treaty, the officers and soldiers laid down their arms, and were to have passes to their several houses, or beyond the seas if they desired it, engaging never to bear arms against the parliament. This was in March, 1645, O. S. In the above account I have followed lord Clarendon, who imputes the loss of the west to the ill behaviour of the generals (lord Hopton excepted) and the soldiery. But lord Landsdown insists on it, that it was not generals or soldiers who were to blame, but the council in general, and more particularly the chancellor of the exchequer. "The king," says he, "had been fatally advised to a method that was pretended for the better government of his armies, which was, to appoint a civil council to inspect and regulate the conduct of his generals, and controll the military operations. This measure had given great disturbance to the brethren of the blade, old officers, and men of experience, who thought very reasonably that they were not to be told their trade by persons who knew nothing of it. Thus those who advised, and those who were to execute, lived in eternal contradiction and variance. The counsellors, says the chancellor, being men of better understandings and better expressions than the officers, commonly disposed his majesty to their opinions from concurring

be under his mother's care, who was to have the absolute and full power of his edu-

with what was proposed by the officers. The best speech, it seems, carried it, as if the man who had the greatest command of words was best intitled to the command of troops. This raised an implacable animosity in the whole army against the council: and who can wonder at it? The lord Wilmot, though the best beloved and most popular officer in the army, and whom the chancellor confesses, notwithstanding the great liberties he takes with his character in all other respects, to have had more credit and authority in the troops than any other man, was yet put under an arrest at his post of command, upon a day of battle, and shamefully sent away a prisoner to Exeter, a sacrifice to the secretary and master of the rolls, who at that time were the great over-rulers in all debates by the volubility of their tongues, in which they excelled. The lord Piercy had the same fate at the same time, for no other reason that appears against either of those noble persons, but that they were beloved by the army, and hated by the council.—This unnatural mixture of councils civil and military, when it came to be particularly applied to every part of the service, could not but create more and more distraction: and hence arose that unhappy division in men's minds which set honour and loyalty at variance.—This infection was not yet spread into the west, where alone every thing continued quiet and hopeful, when the prince, too young and unexperienced to judge for himself, was sent down attended with one of these councils, of which the chancellor was president and supreme director. Sir Richard Granville was then at the head of the

cation, in all things except religion; those to whom he was intrusted, on the near ap-

troops. It is to be observed, that this very council itself was divided into parties: the earl of Berkshire, to whose care the prince's person and education was entrusted, was kept out of all secrets, and so were several others, though members of the same council. The chancellor and his immediate creatures governed the whole. It would be strange to imagine that the king, than whom there could not be a nicer judge, should commit so high and so important a trust as the care of his son, heir to his crown, to any person unqualified for it, at so critical a juncture: it was enough that his majesty had made the choice, to be convinced of that noble lord's merit; but it was his misfortune to be out of the chancellor's favour, as were almost all who had the honour to be appointed near his highness's person. These divisions and sub-divisions in the family and council, could promise nothing but confusion in every part of the administration, civil or military. The general soon found the effects of it. They began with an offer to retrench his allowance for the pay of his troops, upon pretence of œconomy, that out of those contributions there might be spared wherewithall to answer other services: to this he made a peremptory reply, that he neither could nor would command an army unpaid: his answer was resented, but they durst not proceed to any alteration; the whole army was as much concerned as the general. He proposed no scheme of any kind for carrying on the service but what was contradicted or rejected in the most contemptuous manner: this man who had been bred under prince Maurice, the greatest captain of the age; this

proach of the enemy, prepared to give obedience thereunto. Accordingly his high-

man whose experience and activity was thought most necessary where action was to be; this man so beloved by the veteran regiments (the best judges of their officers) that they cared to follow nobody else, as the historian had told us before: this brave, this active, this experienced officer, could now, all on the sudden, offer nothing but wild notions and stark madness.—These disorders daily increasing, Sir Richard at last fairly and honestly represents, in a letter to the prince, the impossibility of doing any thing with an army so distracted by different and contradictory orders: and recommends a more absolute command to be given to some person whom all would obey, and names the lord Hopton, who had formerly commanded with great glory and success [a]." In consequence of this advice, Hopton was chosen general; but Sir Richard, on refusing to act under him, was put under an arrest, and committed to Launceston goal; where he continued till the fate of the west was determined. "Thus it was that this fatal council gave the finishing stroke to the war, where alone any footing was left: the service every where languished, the soldiers gradually deserted, and the lord Hopton, though a braver or a better man could not be, was compelled, after some faint resistances, to disband and accept of such conditions as the enemy would give. Thus by an unaccountable interposition of mixt councils of swordmen and gownmen,

[a] Lord Landsdown's Works, vol. II. p. 209—217, 12mo. Lond. 1736. See also Sir Richard Greenville's own narrative of the proceedings of his majesty's affairs in the west: and Lord Hopton's relation of the same, in Ormonde's State Papers, by Carte, vol. I. p. 96—126. Lond. 1739.

ness, accompanied by his council, on the second of March, one thousand six hundred forty-five, O. S. departed from Pendennis,

by unavoidable disputes and contradictions of persons of such different professions, incompatible in their opinions and decisions, that victorious body of western men, which had fought so many battles, obtained so many victories, invincible in the whole course of the war, flush'd with success in all encounters, and still in condition not only to have stood their ground, but to have attempted greater things, was by one rash measure, the effect of private prejudice, at once broken, scatter'd, dispers'd, and totally defeated.—Nothing better is to be expected from divided councils. What then was left for the chancellor to do, but to shift the blame any where from himself? What could be more natural? Not only Sir Richard, but every officer of the army, nay the soldiers themselves, the very private men, all who differed from him in the council, or in the prince's family, not one escapes the stroke of his pen! In this part of his history therefore (for I meddle with no other) he is rather to be supposed an advocate for his own conduct, than an impartial relator of the actions of others[a]." Lord Clarendon throughout, is indeed more an advocate than an historian. I pretend not to exculpate Greenville: he was, probably, a bad man; as soldiers of fortune, in times of civil distractions, for the most part are: but it is no way unlikely, his censure of the councils of the chancellor of the exchequer, did not a little contribute to the shocking figure he makes in the history of the rebellion.——Having given the sentiments of these two writers concerning the loss of the

[a] Landsdown, vol. II. p. 224.

and soon arrived in the islands of Scilly. The parliament understanding this, invited him to return into England [6], and reside in

west; it will be but justice to say, that the valour of Sir Thomas Fairfax's army contributed as much as any thing thereunto. The observations of a writer, who was present during all the transactions in those parts, though delivered in a very plain style, are worthy of notice. "The hard task the army had in forcing up so great a body as 5000 of the enemies horse, into such a narrow neck of land, through a country so cragged, in such a season of the year, the ground all covered over with snow, the ways so slippery, and the weather so bitter cold, by a hard frost of that continuance, as had not been known for many years before, may well be compared with Hannibal's forcing his passage into Italy through the frozen Alps with fire and vinegar. That five thousand horse and more should be forced to capitulate and yield themselves to an army coming short of that number in horse, is that which history can hardly parallel, and posterity will scarce believe[a]." Thus the association, which promised such mighty matters, we see, was a mere chimera; and the prince was so far from being able to gain any advantage over the parliament by it, that it only hastened the subjection of those who projected it! After the reduction of the west, the king's affairs declined apace; and, before the end of the following year, he was wholly deprived of towns, and armies, by the conqueror.

[6] The parliament invited the prince to return into England.] Though the prince had the nominal com-

[a] Sprigge's England's Recovery, p. 229. fol. Lond. 1647.

some place agreeable to them. For it is not improbable that they wished well to

mand of the western army, the parliament had no disinclination towards him, or desire of his damage. They would gladly have had him with them; in hopes thereby to bring his father to terms, and settle the nation on a proper footing. For hitherto they were pretty well the masters of their own army, and the king himself was looked on with some degree of reverence by most kinds of men.—The sending of the prince abroad, was an action displeasing to the people in general; to many of the prince's own servants, particularly to lord Hopton, "who professed his ignorance of it, and that they were traitors who had a hand in it[a];" and more especially to the parliament, who, on the 30th of March, 1746, O. S. agreed on the form of a letter to be sent to him, in these words:

SIR,

The lords and commons assembled in the parliament of England, being informed that your highness is lately removed into the isle of Scilly, have commanded us, in their names, to invite you to come forthwith into their quarters; and to reside in such place, and with such council and attendants about you, as the two houses shall think fit to appoint. This being all we have in charge, we take leave to rest

Your highness's humble servants,

MANCHESTER,
Speaker of the House of Peers *pro tempore*.

WILLIAM LENTHALL,
Speaker of the Commons house in Parliament.

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XIV. p. 293. 8vo. Lond. 1755.

the prince at that time, and would with pleasure have made use of his mediation

The prince, in answer, dated, "At our court in the isle of Scilly, April 15, 1646," after acknowledging the receipt of the above letter, adds, "We have a great and earnest desire to be amongst you, if we might have any assurance that it might prove an expedient towards a blessed peace, and the composure of these miserable distractions; and therefore, when we were compelled to depart from Cornwall, we chose this poor island to reside in, where we hoped we might have securely attended God's pleasure, till we might have been made an instrument towards a happy peace; but the scarcity of provisions being such in this place, that we have not since our coming hither, which is now about six weeks, received one day's victual, though we left servants of our own in our dutchy of Cornwall to take care for our necessary supply, we are again compelled to remove to the island of Jersey, whither we hope God Almighty will direct us; which place we chose the rather, as well being part of the dominions of our royal father (which as yet it is evident to you we have no mind to quit) as being much nearer to you, and so fitter for correspondency; and therefore, that we may the better receive advice from you, with which we shall always comply as far as with our duty and piety we may, we desire you to send to us a safe conduct for the lord Capel to come to you, and to receive from you such particular propositions for our welfare and subsistence as you think fit to make; and that he may then attend our royal father and return to us at Jersey; and thereupon we hope, by the blessing of God you will receive such satisfaction as shall testify the great

for peace with the king, on terms consistent with their own safety and honour, and the welfare and liberties of the people. His highness, however, was not to be prevailed on: for, leaving Scilly, he went to Jersey, and from thence to France, as required and

desire we have, and shall always have, to follow the counsel and advice you shall give, which will be an unspeakable comfort to us[a]."——This was a very artful letter, and tended to cover the design, long before fixed, of going into France, and to render the execution of it the more easy. Accordingly the prince, departing from Scilly, went to Jersey; where, after great disputes among his council, some of whom and particularly the chancellor of the exchequer, remained on the island, he embarked for France, and safely arrived at Paris. Indeed many of the prince's counsellors thought it very unsafe and impolitic to trust the heir to the British dominions in a foreign land, especially as it was well known he would be there under the government of his mother, whose counsels had been so fatal to herself, her husband, and the kingdom. But the truth was,——the king judged the prince's freedom necessary to his own preservation;——that it was in danger from the power of the parliament in any part of his dominions;——and the queen, who loved to give the law to her husband, peremptorily insisted on her son's residence with her: to which the king was no way averse, though he had more than once also mentioned Denmark as the place of refuge.

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XIV. p. 379.

commanded by his father and mother, where he met with the treatment of princes dependent on others for subsistence[7].

[7] He met with the treatment of princes dependent on others for subsistence.] It had been suspected, and talked, that France was intended for the abode of the prince, some time before it was so in fact. Nor was it a secret in that kingdom, that such was the intention of their majesties. "One of the prince's bed-chamber, who was newly returned from Paris, brought a letter from the earl of Norwich, then the king's ambassador there, to one of the council; in which taking notice of a report there of the prince of Wales's coming thither, he passionately declared against it as a certain ruin to the prince; of which the messenger, by his direction, gave many instances of moment[a]." The advice, we see, had no effect, though the event shewed the wisdom of it. Lord Clarendon tells us, that "all the professions which had been made of respect and tenderness towards the prince of Wales when his person should once appear in France, were unworthily disappointed. The prince," continues he, "had been above two months with the queen his mother, before any notice was taken of his being in France, by the least message sent from the court to congratulate his arrival there; but that time was spent in debating the formalities of his reception; how the king should treat him? whether he should take place of Monsieur the king's brother? and what kind of ceremonies should be observed between the prince of Wales and his uncle the duke of Orleans? and many such other

[a] Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. IV. p. 685.

However here he abode, till called into

particulars; in all which they were resolved to give the law themselves; and which had been fitter to have been adjusted in Jersey, before he put himself into their power, than disputed afterwards in the court of France; from which there could be then no appeal.—And it can hardly be believed, with how little respect they treated him during the whole time of his stay there. They were very careful, that he might not be look'd upon as supported by them, either according to his dignity, or for the maintenance of his family; but a mean addition to the pension which the queen had before, was made to her majesty, without any mention of the prince her son; who was wholly to depend upon her bounty, without power to gratify or oblige any of his own servants; that they likewise might depend only upon the queen's goodness and favour, and so behave themselves accordingly[a]." All this was very naturally to have been expected. For France was too much engaged with the whole house of Austria, to wish to raise up new foes, which, probably, would have been the event had they received Charles with the ceremonies to which his birth entitled him, and enabled him to live in splendour. Nor would it have been becoming the prudence of Mazarine to have lavished the treasures of the crown on an exiled prince, when their armies were frequently in want of pay, and money was of so great importance to their affairs. Add to this, that misfortunes seldom create respect in standers by; and that dependence, of course, meets with slights and neglects.

[a] Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. V. p. 33, 34.

action by the revolt of part of the fleet

> If there be man (ye gods) I ought to hate,
> Dependence and attendance be his fate.
>
> COWLEY.

Those have little sense of their own dignity, or rather can have no dignity at all, who stoop for favours, or pay attendance in expectation of them, when by economy or industry they can maintain their independency, and, by that means, rank with the greatest.—The neglect of the French court was not the only evil felt by the prince. His mother exerted her authority over him, and required the like submission she had exacted from his father. "The prince," says the writer so often quoted in this note, "remained at Paris under the government of his mother; exercised with that strictness, that though his highness was above the age of seventeen years, it was not desired that he should meddle in any business, or be sensible of the unhappy condition the royal family was in. The assignation which was made by the court of France for the better support of the prince, was annexed to the monthly allowance given to the queen, and received by her, and distributed as she thought fit; such cloaths and other necessaries provided for his highness as were thought convenient; her majesty desiring to have it thought that the prince liv'd entirely upon her, and that it would not consist with the dignity of a prince of Wales to be a pensioner to the king of France. Hereby none of his highness's servants had any pretence to ask money, but they were to be contented with what should be allowed to them; which was dispensed with a very sparing hand; nor was the prince ever master of ten pistoles to dispose as he desired. The lord Jermyn was the

from the parliament[s], which, together with the commotions in England and Wales, and the Scottish army, under the command

queen's chief officer, and governed all her receipts, and he loved plenty so well, that he would not be without it, whatever others suffered. All who had any relation to the prince, were to implore his aid; and the prince himself could obtain nothing but by him; which made most persons of honour of the English nation, who were driven into banishment, as many of the nobility and chief gentry of the kingdom then were, choose rather to make their residence in some other place, as Caen, Roan, and the like, than in Paris, where the prince was, and could do so little: nor was this œconomy well liked even in France, nor the prince himself so much respected as he would have been if he had lived more like himself, and appeared more concern'd in his own business[a]." What a hopeful plight must the prince be indeed in; poor, and subjugated to the will of an imperious mother, directed by an all-commanding, sole favourite! No condition could be less worthy of envy.

[s] The revolt of part of the fleet from the parliament, &c.] After the vote of, No more addresses to the king, a strong inclination for peace with him took place in the minds of the majority of the British nation. For suffering excites compassion; and compassion is active and powerful. Besides this, those who had taken the lead, since the new modelling of the army, in the house, had many enemies, on account of their avowed principles and behaviour. Their dis-

[a] Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. V. p. 116.

of Hamilton, intended for the service of the king, gave him and his friends some hope of his deliverance from captivity.

regard to the covenant disgusted the Scots: the restraint laid on the fiery zeal of the English presbyterians was very ill brooked by them; and the cavaliers could not with patience see themselves subjected by those who had formerly been the objects of their derision.——Add to this, that there was not a man of these three parties, though disagreeing among themselves, but looked with horror on the dethroning, imprisoning, or executing of their king.—These men, then full of resentment against the leaders in the parliament and army, and mindful of past wrongs;—the Scots without English pay;—the English presbyterians dispossessed of command;—the cavaliers smarting under the penalties of delinquency;—determined, in conjunction, to avenge themselves; reinstate the king; and humble those who were now their masters, and would willingly continue so to be. For this end, the Scots had concluded a treaty with the king in the isle of Wight, in which the covenant was approved: the English presbyterians had promised their aid and assistance to promote the success of the Scots; and a commission was given to Lord Holland to raise an army in order to ascertain it. Accordingly, the Scots entered England; Wales was in arms; and Essex and Kent had forces, headed by Holland, Buckingham, Capel, and others who had adhered to the king from the beginning, or repented of their having fallen off from him.——The king had agreed that the prince of Wales should put himself at the head of the Scots on their entering into England. Accordingly he was

But every attempt for the restoration of that monarch proved in vain, through the abilities of those who opposed him; and

preparing for it, but was hindered by part of the fleet's declaring for his majesty. This was on the 27th of May, 1648. What became of the insurrections in England and Wales is well known; nor can any be ignorant of the total defeat of the Scots at Preston. With regard to the fleet, it will be proper to observe, that it was ten ships and frigates which had revolted from the parliament: for the seamen had caught the contagion of the times, and nothing would serve but they must have the duke of York for their admiral, and have the honour of bearing a part in his majesty's restoration. For which end, sailing from the Downs, they arrived in Holland, where the duke went aboard, and was soon joined by his brother the prince of Wales, accompanied by prince Rupert, the lords Willoughby of Parham, Colepepper, and Hopton. With this force he sailed to Yarmouth, and thence to the Downs (leaving the duke of York at the Hague), from whence he proceeded into the Thames, in order to encourage the king's party in the city, and make the people clamorous for a peace. Here he took some prizes of considerable value, which he apologised for in a letter to the lord mayor and aldermen: and soon after published "a declaration to all his majesties loving subjects, concerning the grounds and ends of his present engagement upon the fleet in the Downs." In this piece, after declaring himself under a necessity of taking up arms in order to rescue his father from captivity, and the good people of the kingdom from the cruel tyranny of fellow-subjects, he adds,——"Being

the prince, in particular, obtained very little reputation by assuming a command to which he was no way equal, and which

thus rightly understood by those, whose interest, as well as their duty, obligeth them to join with us in this good work; as we shall in the first place, look up to Heaven for a blessing from the Lord of Hosts on this good cause, so we shall desire, and expect, the ready and chearful assistance of the hearts and hands of all his majesties good subjects, as opportunity, effectually, to appear with and for us, shall be offered to them. And that the usual cunning arts of their and our enemies may not abuse any of them with false suggestions or misinterpretations of our proceedings, we hereby, with that candour and sincerity which becomes a Christian and a prince, declare and publish to the whole world, that the true grounds, reasons and ends of this our engagement are these, and none other.

" 1. The honor of God's holy name, in defence of the true protestant religion, and his divine worship, against all opposers whatsoever; and particularly against the heresies, schisms, scandalous doctrines and practices declared against in his majesties agreement with the Scots commissioners, bearing date at Carisbrook Castle the 26th of December last; and the establishing church government as is therein mentioned, and accorded to by his majesty, as also the mutual performance of that agreement.

" 2. The restoring of his majesty to his liberty and just rights; and in order thereunto, and for the settling of a happy peace, a speedy personal treaty with his majesty, with honor, freedom, and safety.

had but little effect. For every thing gave way to the power of the army, who, after having defeated their enemies, and purged

" 3. The support and defence of the known laws of the kingdom.

" 4. The maintenance of the freedom and just privileges of parliament.

" 5. The defence of the liberty and property of the subject against all violence, rapine, and oppression; such as excise, contribution, free quarter, and all other illegal taxes.

" 6. The obtaining such an act of oblivion and indemnity as may most firmly bind up the bond of peace.

" 7. The speedy disbanding of all armies, and particularly that under the command of the lord Fairfax.

" 8. The defence of the honor of the English nation, and his majesties rights in the narrow seas; the protection and security of the trade of all his majesties loyal subjects; the support of the navy royal, and the encouragement of all the officers and mariners of the same, to whose exemplary courage, conduct, and good affections, we owe this present opportunity with them, thus to appear for peace.

" And now having thus fully and sincerely declared our intentions and resolutions, we earnestly invite, and (by the authority as well as interest in our person during his majesties restraint, as also deriv'd particularly and formally from him, under the great seal of England) do require and command, all his majesties loyal subjects heartily to join and associate themselves with us in this our undertaking; and, with force of

the house of commons of the members who opposed their designs, seized the king, brought him up to London as a prisoner,

arms under us, as likewise by all other good means in their power, to oppose and resist all such persons and forces, as well by land as sea, as shall oppose us and this blessed peace. As likewise to be aiding and assisting to all such as are now in arms against those enemies of peace; and particularly to encourage, aid, and relieve, as friends and brethren, the Scots army, now on their march for his majesties rescue; of whose loyalty to his majesty, and good affections to the kingdom of England, we are fully satisfied. And we more especially exhort the city of London and the port-towns of England, upon whose actions the eyes of the whole kingdom are particularly fixed, by their good example, to encourage all the people of England manfully to shake off the heavy yoke now imposed on them by force of arms, as on a conquered nation; and instead of that lawless power which now depriveth them of the security of their persons, and the property of their goods and estates, to vindicate the just rights of free-born subjects of England, in seeking their protection under the government of their undoubted sovereign lord our royal father, and the law of the land[a]." ——After this follows a most gracious offer of pardon to the officers and soldiers of Fairfax's army, and to the officers and seamen of Warwick's fleet, who should join with him; and an invitation to the people in general to associate themselves as one man against all opposers of peace, and thereby prevent a bloody war

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XVII. p. 342.

and, by the authority of the remainder of the house of commons, appointed a day for his trial, in order that he might undergo a punishment, which, in the opinion

for generations to come. This declaration was very artful. It flattered the Scots: it soothed the English presbyterians: it caressed. the citizens, and pointed out to them their own importance.—But it had no effects. The army, seeing itself beset on all sides, and its destruction avowed, exerted itself with uncommon diligence, and overcame all their opposers. As to the fleet under prince Charles, except the prizes taken by it, it hurt his adversaries little. Faction, so fatal to weak bodies, entered into and rendered it of no significancy: for it left the Downs on the approach of the enemy, and went for Holland, where it no longer was an object of terror. It ought not to be omitted that, the above declaration being presented by the sheriffs of London to the Commons, and the citizens being withdrawn, it was moved, that the house should declare him a rebel and a traitor. The motion miscarried, as they had then voted for a treaty of peace with the king.—But, however, all were declared such who adhered to or assisted him in the present war[a]. This was but poor encouragement. The house of peers was then applied to by him, in a letter dated from aboard the fleet in the Downs, Aug. 5, in the 24th year of the reign of the king our royal father. In this letter, among other things, he proposed "that an orderly moderate subsistence during the treaty between the king and the two houses, be agreed upon for all armies and

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XVII. p. 384.

of his judges, he should deserve. This alarmed the prince; who, it is said, writ a letter to Fairfax[9] in his father's behalf, and offered their own terms to the parliament,

forces now on foot, and particularly for the Scots army, in such manner as may be with the least pressure on the northern counties. He then offers his mediation for obtaining from his majesty all such concessions and acts of grace as might conduce to peace, and concludes with desiring that some equal course might be suddenly settled for the support of himself and the navy with him." An answer was agreed on to this letter by the Lords, Aug. 19; in which, after thanking his highness for the offer of his mediation for peace, which they took as an argument of the affection he bore to his native country, they add, "and we do conceive that nothing can more conduce to procure your highness an interest in the affections of all the people of England, than to steer all your motions in concurrence with those councils and resolutions that are taken in the parliament: which is, by the antient constitution of the government of this kingdom, the great council thereof[a]." This was a sharp reprimand for encouraging the Scotch invasion, the English insurrections, and the naval revolt. For though the Lords and Commons, the majority of them, earnestly wished for peace, they chose not to have it imposed on them, and all their labours rendered totally vain and insignificant, and their own safety endangered; as it must have been, had the designs then on foot succeeded, which the prince openly encouraged.

[9] The prince wrote a letter to Fairfax, &c.] It being

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XVII. p. 407.

to procure his safety.—He had no attention, however, paid unto him: for the king, as it is well known, being condemned, lost his life before Whitehall, to the amazement of all his partizans. And that the hopes of the prince of Wales might be en-

determined by the army, with the approbation of the parliament, to bring the king to a trial for high-treason; his friends were greatly alarmed. The prince, in particular, made application to the States of Holland to interpose in his behalf to the parliament; which they promised to do, and actually did, by an ambassador sent for that purpose: though it proved of no significancy. Not content herewith, he sent a servant with a letter to Fairfax, and the council of war (for he knew the parliament had no authority), in which he told them, "that he had no other means to be informed of the health and condition of the king his royal father, but by the common prints, and general intelligences that arriv'd in those parts: he had reason by those to believe, that after the expiration of the treaty in the isle of Wight (where he hoped the foundation for a happy peace had been laid) his majesty had been carried to Hurst Castle; and since, by some officers of the army to Windsor, not without purpose of a more violent prosecution; the rumour whereof, though of so monstrous and incredible a nature, had called upon his piety to make this address to them; who had at this time the power to chuse, whether they would raise lasting monuments to themselves of loyalty and piety, by restoring their sovereign to his just rights, and their country to peace and happiness,

tirely cut off, all persons were forbidden to declare, publish, or promote him, or any other person, to be king, or chief magistrate of England, or Ireland, without consent of parliament: the house of peers was declared useless and dangerous; and the

a glory which had been seldom absolutely vouchsafed to so small a number of men; or to make themselves the authors of endless misery to the kingdom, by contributing or consenting to an act which all Christians, into how different opinions soever divided, must abhor as the most inconsistent with the elements of any religion, and destructive to the security and being of any kind of government. He did therefore earnestly desire and conjure them, sadly to consider the vast and prodigious disproportion in that election; and then, he said, he could not doubt but that they would chuse to do that which is most just, safe, and honourable for them to do; make themselves the blest instruments to preserve, defend, and restore their king, to whom only their allegiance was due; by which every one of them might justly promise themselves peace of conscience, the singular good will and favour of his majesty, the ample thanks and acknowledgments of all good men, and the particular and unalterable affection of the prince himself. This letter," continues my author, "was with much ado delivered into the hands of Fairfax himself; but the messenger could never be admitted to speak with him; nor was there more known than that it was read in the council of war, and laid aside[a]."

[a] Clarendon, vol. V. p. 251.

kingly office itself, utterly abolished. A commonwealth hereupon was erected; and an engagement imposed on all persons (on pain of incapacity of bearing office in church or state) to be true and faithful to

If this letter was really written and sent, its success was just such as might have been expected. For what heed could be given to the intercessions or promises of a man who but a very little before had declared himself an enemy to them, and desirous of their destruction? Filial piety might naturally prompt, and a father's imminent danger might excite, to such an address; but cool reason must pronounce that it would be ineffectual. The men his royal highness had to do with, were not to be charmed with words.—It is said, the prince also sent to the parliament, to prescribe the terms on which his majesty's head might be secured. This is not improbable: as I know there is in the British Museum a blank paper, at the bottom of which, on the right hand, is written, Charles P. and on the left, opposite thereunto, a seal is affixed; and on the back there is written, in another hand, "Prince Charles his *carte blanche* to the parliament to save his father's head." However, no intercessions were regarded; and the prince had the mortification to find that the pretence of royal blood could not fix a tyrant on the throne, or secure him from open punishment. Happy had it been if the children of this monarch had learned wisdom from the sufferings of their father! But a fatality, for the most part, attended their race: they loved tyranny, and they experienced the hatred it produced. May it be the fate of such as imitate them,

the commonwealth of England, as then established, without king or house of lords. This gave rise to a controversy, which it will be proper to give an account of [10].—— In the mean time, Charles was proclaimed

in every age, and in every nation! that they may know the rights of human nature; the prerogative of man; and the laws, the reasonable laws, of their respective communities.

> Ye wretches, ye perfidious train,
> Ye curst of gods and freeborn men,
> Ye murd'rers of the laws;
> Tho' now you glory in your lust,
> Tho' now you tread the feeble neck in dust,
> Yet time and righteous Jove will judge your dreadful cause.
>
> AKENSIDE.

[10] This gave rise to a controversy, which it will be proper to give an account of.] The act for subscribing the engagement passed the house Jan. 2, 1649, O.S. and continued in force till Jan. 19, 1653; when, by the authority of Cromwell and his parliament, it was laid aside. Mr. Whitlock tells us, "that it was ordered that the lords commissioners of the great seal do take care that writs be issued out and sent down into every county to the several sheriffs to proclaim the act touching the engagement. This course of proclaiming new acts of parliament," adds he, "was very antient, and constantly used (especially in elder times), as appears by the records, but of late disused. I thought fit to have it revived again, that the people might be informed what acts were passed, which they were not so fully by the printing as by proclaiming of them at

king of Scotland by the parliament of that nation; who resolved to send a committee

their markets[a]." The revival of this practice seems to have been highly reasonable; though, with many others, it was not continued after the Restoration.—The end and design of the engagement was to secure the new government against its adversaries, which were neither few nor contemptible: it being judged proper to permit none to enjoy power under the commonwealth, who were not well inclined towards it, or who could not quietly sit easy under it. It of consequence made many removes among men of real principles, and excited many disputes among those who were actuated by conscience. As for the herd in the higher or lower classes, in all ages they are one,—without thought, consideration, or honour; and consequently it may easily be supposed, that they very quietly submitted. Various were the opinions, and opposite the practices, of very wise and good men, concerning this oath, which was intended to establish a quite different form of government from what they had been used to; and each party appealed to the public, as usual on such occasions. "The arraignment, conviction and condemnation of the Westminsterian-Juncto's Engagement[b]," written, as I believe, by Prynne, without a name, immediately appeared. In this it was alleged, "that it was imposed by those, who by the laws never had power to administer, much less to make or impose any oath, supposing them a full and free house of commons, as they were not; that it was contrary to all antient oaths, the modern oaths of allegiance and su-

[a] Whitlock, p. 439. [b] In 4to. 1649, without the name of place or printer.

to invite him thither, on condition of his giving satisfaction concerning the security

premacy, the vow and protestation, the solemn league and covenant, and engagement of the whole kingdom to the king, his heirs, successors and posterity for ever." It was farther said, "it would involve the nation in endless wars with the family of the late king, and the nobility; and engage Scotland and Ireland to unite with the young kings foreign friends and allies against England; and finally, that the erection of a commonwealth would sink the nation into contempt in the eyes of those around them, and expose its subjects to the worst treatment." Other writers followed; who plainly declared the commonwealth to be an usurpation, and consequently to be without right to obedience. In support hereof, it was alleged,

"1. That as all lawful power is founded on the wills of those over whom it is set; contrariwise, usurpation is built upon the will and power of them that hold the government: more especially when a party owing obedience and subjection to a long-continued, and undoubted lawful power, and solemnly sworn to submit to and support that government, shall rise up, and presume to thrust out the possessors, and invest itself, yea, and not only seize on the power, but of its own mind and will, or by its force alone, abolish the settled, and set up a new mould of government, this is usurpation, to the culmen or height of it.

"2. No obedience is due to usurpers. For I cannot (if I would) yeeld up myself in obedience to him that hath no authority over me. Take him as a usurper, and my allegiance is incompatible to him. Obedience and authority, magistrate and subject, are terms of

of religion, the union of the two kingdoms, and the good and peace of that kingdom,

relation, and doe *se mutuo ponere & tollere:* they are inseparable from one another; if there be no magistracy in him, there can be no obedience properly and formally in me to him. I may (either warrantably or unwarrantably) doe an act possibly which he commanded; but that cannot be truly and properly said to be an act of obedience to him. His authority is null, of no reality. He is no magistrate, but a private person; my fellow subject (if one of the nation), or a foreigner to me. His commanding over me and others, is, as if a private soldier should take upon him to give orders to his company, or an inferior officer to an army; or a servant should offer to rule over his fellow servants.

"3. I may not (if I could) yeild up myself as a subject to the usurper; in so doing I should take away the right of the lawful magistrate which he hath over me, and injure him in the allegiance which I stand tyed in to him, and he still retaineth the claim of at my hands. The magistrate is (in the case in hand) granted to be in being; he is but deprived of possession and enjoyment, not of property or title; he is yet standing in the relation of a magistrate to me, and is only outed of his station per force. The obedience of a subject is not so arbitrary or loose a thing, as that I may place and remove it at pleasure, or as affairs go; but it is a debt which I must render to him unto whom it is due. Neither is sovereignty so common, ambulatory, or prostitute a matter, as that its title ceaseth unto him that is violently extruded or dispossessed of it, and becometh any ones that by force captivates it to himself; the expulsed magistrate still standing upon his

according to the national covenant, and the solemn league and covenant. These

claim and right, and the power in possession having no title but his injurious and forcible entrance; the subject is not disobliged from him that is expelled, nor at his choice to transfer his obedience to another, neither can the violent intruder challenge it[a]."—These were the principal reasons alleged against taking the engagement, reasons which must operate against all new governments, and render them unsafe, and their subjects unhappy. But the commonwealth wanted not its advocates, who understood government well, and pointed out the lawfulness of submission. With regard to the authority that imposed the engagement, it was asked, "Why is not this effectually a parliament, seeing it is the supream present power of the whole nation, no part excluded? which in this controversy is the very term of the question. I hope he means no criticism by the word parliament; if he doth, it signifies only a public speaking or consulting together for the public. Moreover the author would be, I am sure, much perplext, if I should ask him, how he knoweth so indubitably that this is not a parliament or supream power requisite for the kingdom, according to the mind of God? He must pardon us if we think forms no more than persons are to last here always; or that the changes which have been, and still are to be of both, must never be done, but according to the customary formalities of a quiet people, but rather according to the extreme necessity of a state. For if he ask me, what it is forms in-organiz'd people into a govern-

[a] An Exercitation concerning Usurped Powers, 4to. 1650, without name or place.

conditions were far enough from being acceptable to the king or his counsellors.

ment, of what sort soever? I answer, necessity. If, what makes or takes away a law in a government established? I answer, necessity. If, what takes away a government itself? I answer, that which first gave it being, viz. necessity. Of which there are several degrees; for in a peaceable state, a word may take away that which in a disturb'd state must be taken away by the sword: after which it is but equal that he who gives the last blow, should in that quarrel give the last word, and leave us to a peremptory obedience, unless we would have no quarter in the world, or be like the old *Servati in bello*, who were sold, confin'd to chains all their lives, or condemn'd to dig perpetually in mines.——They who sit at top in the state, are *tanquam in nubibus* to the eyes of us of the people. We know not how they manage their counsels, nor contrive their transactions; that is best determined by and amongst themselves. It is enough for us if they be of a number competent to act, and be persons who enter by virtue of free election, and sit in legal place. For in a case where five are chosen to a business, and that any three of them are to be of the quorum, though two of them be never so accidentally or violently detained, yet what the other three do, is to all intents and purposes valid.—As for the will of the major part of the people, how will he prove, that they had not rather obey this present power, than seek to be rid of it by the hazards and calamities of another war? They usually look after nothing but their rents, markets and reasonable subsistence. They are the luxurious and the ambitious part only which pretends to new troubles. The

For they hated the covenant, as an engine of mischief to their late master; nor did

peoples question therefore is not how the change was made, but, *an sit*, whether it be so changed or no? For, if according to its formalitie that be not rightly done, it concerneth not their consciences no more than the thunder and lightning over their heads doth, which are things totally out of their power, much less may they desolate neighbours for them[a]"

The same argument was urged by the celebrated Marchamont Nedham, in his "Case of the Commonwealth stated[b]." In this pamphlet he sets himself to prove, that governments have their revolutions and fatal periods; that the power of the sword is, and ever hath been, the foundation of all titles to government; and that non-submission to government justly deprives men of the benefit of its protection. Under this head, he says, "private and particular persons have no right to question how those came by their power that are in authority over them; for if that were once admitted, there would be no end of disputes in the world touching titles. It is ground enough for the submission of particular persons in things of political equity, that those which have gotten the power are irresistable, and able to force it if they refuse. For as touching this case (saith the most excellent Grotius), private persons ought not to take upon them to meddle with these controversies in point of title, but rather to follow them that are in possession."—As to the alleged usurpation of the present governors, they having no call from the people—he answers, "That if only a call

[a] The Bounds and Bonds of Publique Obedience, p. 4, 10, 11. 4to. Lond. 1650. [b] Nedham's Case of the Commonwealth stated, 4to, Lond. 1650.

they indeed at all love the Scottish nation, by reason of its resistance of arbitrary

from the people constitute a lawful magistracie, then there hath been very rarely any lawful magistracie in the world, not among us long before and since the conquest.—In England, most of our own kings reigned without any call, but made way by their swords; there being of those 25 princes that have king'd it among us, not above half a dozen that came to the crown in an orderly succession, either by lineal or collateral title: and not any one of those half dozen but laid claim to it by virtue of their predecessors usurpations, without any call from the people; only in the investiture they had their consent, because out of a love of publique peace none would, or out of fear none durst, offer to question their titles. Now, if the former part of this objection were true, that a call were the only essential, constituting a lawful government; then it would follow, that, as all the world, so we and our ancestors have liv'd and paid obedience, for the most part, under an unlawful magistracie; which sure no sober man will affirm. But if any will be so mad as to say it, I only propound to him this sober quere, Why we may not now as lawfully submit to the present magistracie, in case it were unlawful, as our ancestors did heretofore to theirs, for the publique peace of the nation [a]."

2. As for the oath of allegiance, by which so many held themselves bound, it was said, "Allegiance is but a political tie, for politick ends, grounded upon political considerations; and therefore being politically determined, when those considerations are altered by new circumstances (be it in relation to Cæsar or the

[a] Nedham's Case of the Commonwealth stated, 4to. Lond. 1650. p. 29.

measures, the assistance it had afforded the parliament of England in the wars against

Senate), the old allegiance is extinct, and must give place to a new. The same description may serve likewise for the covenant; for even that part of it which relates most to religion, will be found wrapt up altogether in matters of discipline and church politie, to serve politick ends and interests, if the actions of our English and Scotch presbyters may be admitted as a comment on the text. I grant, both those oaths are religious acts, as they are solemnized with the invocation of God as a witness: but as all actions are qualified from their principal end; so the main end of those oaths being obedience to the prince in order to the good of the publique, they are of a political nature; and when such an alteration of affairs shall happen as extinguishes his title, I conceive, we are not obliged, in this case, to pay him that submission which by oath we promised, but ought rather to swear a new one to those who succeed him in the government[a]."—"The subject is absolved from the oath of allegiance, by those who have power to absolve from it. The representatives of the people, which in reason are the supream power of the nation, imposed this oath upon the subject by an act made in parliament, by which they obliged the subject to allegiance to the king then in being, and to his heirs: and this act done by their representatives, was their own voluntary act, to which they were not obliged by any law of God or nature: for there is no rule requiring them to accept of such a person to be their prince, and his heirs after him, and to swear allegiance to him and them: but

[a] Nedham's Case of the Commonwealth stated, 4to. Lond. 1650. p. 35.

Charles I. and the delivering up that monarch to the English commissaries, at New-

this was the subjects free act in their representatives; therefore if the representatives take away this act, and repeal it, they thereby set the subjects at liberty from such allegiance, and from their oath by which they are bound unto it[a]."

3. To the objection, that kings have the same rights to their kingdoms, as others have to their private properties;—it was replied,—"Such right as kings have had, they never justly came by it; but by force and flattery have obtained it, and have usurped upon the birthright of the people, to whom it belongs to chuse them that must rule over them; and kingdoms, with their appurtenances thereto, were never intended for particular mens advancement, to lift up such families in glory and greatness, or that the hereditary right of any should be in them: but wisdom, righteousness and virtue, was to lift up men unto them; and crowns and revenues were to encourage them in acting in such places; and men that were so qualified, were to be heirs and successors, set up by the people after them; and the people themselves, nor their representatives, could neither give, nor sell away this priviledge from their posterity, in which the welfare of the people is so mainly concerned, and without which a people are given up, and sold to ruin. This cannot be said of manors and demains, which are things that fall under commutative justice, and are things vendible, and wherein particular men are concerned, and not the commonwealth[b]."

[a] Eaton's Positions against the Oath of Allegiance, p. 5. prefixed to a Vindication of the Oath of Allegiance. 4to. 1650. without name or place.

[b] Id. p. 6.

castle.——The king, indeed, had another kingdom in view, where he hoped to enjoy

4. It was further asserted, "That a magistrate dispossessed hath no right to be restored, nor the subject any obligation to seek to restore, but oppose him. For, what is man, or rather mankinde (for so we have styled a nation), better than a herd of sheep or oxen, if it be to be owned, like them, by masters? What difference is there, between their masters selling them to the butcher, and obliging them to venture their lives and livelihoods for his private interest? We know it is natural, that the part should venture for the whole; but that the whole should venture the loss of itself to save the part, I cannot understand. The governour is the highest and noblest part, yet but a part; the people is the whole, the end (though not by office, yet by worth and dignity), the master and lord, for whom those who are lords by office are to be vested and devested in lordship, when it is necessary for the common good. Who thinks otherwise deserves not the name of man[a]."——Such were the arguments alleged in behalf of obedience and submission to the new government: arguments which demonstrate the writers of them to be men of real abilities, and knowledge of politics! Arguments which shew they had got loose from the trammels of education, custom, and prejudice; and dared to think and speak like men.

> Strong were our sires, and as they fought they writ,
> Conqu'ring with force of arms, and dint of wit.
>
> DRYDEN.

And to manifest still farther the utility of submitting to the commonwealth government, it was shewn, that

[a] The Ground of Obedience and Government, by Thomas White, p. 142. 2d edit. Lond. 1655.

his own will without restraint, and to be

the young king had not the least probability of success in any attempts he might make against it; or that, if he should succeed, the consequences would be terrible. —"From foreign nations he could expect little aid;—for as things were then constituted, some princes wanted leizure, others ability, to assist him; and divers refrained for particular reasons of state. Nor could he reasonably expect much assistance from our own nation, as the people will be less apt to engage in new insurrections, since the last thrived so ill, to the prejudice and shame of all the undertakers. Mobs might rise; but it is not like that the gentry, men of estates, will stir in any considerable number, to hazard their possessions, being yet scarce warm in them, after a purchase made upon dear rates of composition.—But should the royalists proceed with success to the ruin of this government, such inconveniences would follow to the whole nation, as would hinder all wise men from wishing well to them. For the king must come in by the power of the sword; he will be perswaded, if not inclined, to tyrannize; there will be no act of oblivion pass'd beforehand, and if he gain possession, it is a question then, whether he will grant any afterward; or if, for fashion sake, he do grant one, how far shall it extend, and whether it may not be eluded, to make way for revenge against particular persons, who, perhaps, little dream of an inquisition for past offences, as being of the moderate sort of offenders against the regal person and prerogative.—Kings, it was said, were revengeful, and princes that come from banishment to a kingdom, were observed to reign very bloodily:—whereof they shall be first sensible," adds this writer, "that have opposed his interest; and such are all

assisted, on his own terms, to recover his

those in this nation that have appeared for the parliament against the encroachments of the prerogative. Nor let them flatter themselves, that they shall scape better than others, because they never opposed this princes person. It will be ground sufficient for his hatred, that they bandied against his father, and the prerogative, to which he is heir. Nor is it likely he will forget the observation made by one of his chaplains, in a sermon before him at the Hague; how that the presbyterians held his father by the hair, and the independents cut off his head; nor is it to be supposed that we shall have many parliaments hereafter; for, besides the provocations given by parliament, it is against the nature of kings to love parliaments or assemblies of their people; and it was left as a legacy by king James to his family, in his Basilicon Doron, that his successors should neglect parliaments as much as might be: so that consider how this prince is engaged, not only by the interest of the crowne, his particular personal interest of revenge, but also by the precepts of his grandfather, and the common inclination of all monarchs; and we may easily imagine what will become of parliaments, and parliament patriots, if ever he get possession[a]."——"And whereas many adhered to the prince, in their hearts, in hope they shall be eased of excise and taxes, &c. if he be restored, they are exceedingly mistaken.——If now we have burdens, we must then look to have furrows made upon our backs. If now we are, through necessity, put to endure a few whips; we shall then, of set purpose, be chastised with scorpions. It is not an excise, or

[a] Case of the Commonwealth, p. 40—45. See also note 36.

other dominions. This was Ireland; where

an army, that we shall escape; but be visited with whole legions of foreign desperadoes, which must be fed with greater payments than ever, and God knows when we shall be rid of them, if the prince settle upon their shoulders! Consider, how many hungry Scots gape after this gude land, who, with those of other nations, must be satisfied out of the purses of our own, whilst those that are their leaders will be gratified with this, that, and the other mans lands and possessions.——Lastly, the princes consideration with the Scots, and our English presbyters (were there no other reason), might be enough to terrify any ingeniously-minded people from giving their assistance, be they royalists or not. For if the kirk be able to bind the prince to hard conditions, and prove (like the sons of Zeruiah) too strong for him, so that his interest bow to theirs, then, instead of a regal (which is more tollerable) we must all stoop to the intollerable yoke of a presbyterian tyranny, that will prove a plague upon the consciences, bodies, and purses of this free nation. The Scots by this means will effect their designe upon us, by stretching their covenant-union to an equality of interest with us in our own affairs: and the English grandees of that party will seat themselves again in the house, and exclude all others, or else a new party shall be called of persons of their own faction; so that if they should carry the day, all the comfort we shall have by casting off the present governors, will be only that we shall have these furious jockies for our riders. Things, perhaps, shall be in the old *statu quo*, as they were when the late king was at Holdenby, whose son must then lay his scepter at the foot-stool of the kirke, or else they will restore

he had been proclaimed by the marquis

him by leizure (as they did his father) into the exercise of royalty: by which means we should be brought again, as far as ever we were, from a condition of settlement, and the commonwealth reduced to ashes by endless combustions. On the other side, put the case the prince have the better end of the staffe of the presbyters (they relying upon his courtesie, as well as the rest of the people), then, in case he carry the day, they, and all, are at his mercy, and no bar will be in the way to hinder him from an ascent unto an unlimited power. So that you plainly see, this present combination of royallists and presbyters (whichsoever of them be most prevalent) must of necessity put the nation in a hazard between Scylla and Charybdis, that we cannot chuse but fall into one of the pernicious gulphs, either of presbyterian or monarchical tyranny[a]." The reader doubtless will expect to find what effect this controversy produced on the behaviour of the people, for whose satisfaction, as well as the respective interests of the king and the commonwealth, it was, as pretended, set on foot.

Bishop Sanderson tells us, "that very many men, known to be well affected to the king and his party, and reputed otherwise both learned and conscientious (not to mention the presbyterians, most of whom, truly for my own part, when we speak of learning and conscience, I hold to be very little considerable), have subscribed the engagement; who in the judgment of charity, we are to presume, would not so have done, if they had not been perswaded the words might be understood in some such qualified sense as might stand

[a] Case of the Commonwealth, p. 47.

of Ormonde, who, having made peace with

with the duty of allegiance to the king.——And it was strongly reported and believed that the king hath given way to the taking of the engagement, rather than that his good subjects should lose their estates for refusing the same. Which," adds he, "as it is a clear evidence, that the king, and they who are about him, to advise him, do not so conceive of the words of the engagement, as if they did necessarily import an abandoning the allegiance due to him: so 'tis, if true, a matter of great consideration towards the satisfaction of so many, as, out of that fear only, have scrupled the taking of it. For the doing of that cannot be reasonably thought to destroy the subjects allegiance, which the king, who expecteth allegiance from all his subjects, advisedly, and upon mature deliberation, alloweth them to do[a]."

"The sectarian party," says Mr. Baxter, "swallowed the engagement easily, and so did the kings old cavaliers, so far as I was acquainted with them, or could hear of them (not heartily, no doubt, but they were very few of them sick of the disease call'd Tenderness of Conscience, or Scrupulosity): but the presbyterians and the moderate episcopal men refused it (and, I believe, so did the prelatical divines of the king's party for the most part; though the gentlemen had greater necessities). Without this engagement no man must have the benefit of suing another at law (which kept men a little from contention, and would have marr'd the lawyers trade); nor must they have any masterships in the universities, nor travel above so many miles from their houses, and more such penalties,

[a] Nine Cases of Conscience, p. 94. 8vo. Lond. 1678.

the Irish rebels, had the best part of that

which I remember not (so short-lived a commonwealth deserved no long remembrance). Mr. Vines and Dr. Rainbow, and many more, were hereupon put out of their headships in the universities, and Mr. Sidrach Sympson, and Mr. Jo. Sadler, and such others, put in; yea such a man as Mr. Dell, the chaplain of the army, who, I think, neither understood himself, nor was understood by others any farther than to be one who took reason, sound doctrine, order and concord to be the intolerable maladies of church and state, because they were the greatest strangers to his mind. But poor Dr. Edward Reignolds had the hardest measure; for when he refused to take the engagement, his place was forfeited; and afterwards they drew him to take it, in hopes to keep his place (which was no less then the deanerie of Christ church), and then turned him out of all, and offered his place to Mr. Jos. Caryll; but he refusing it, it was conferr'd on Dr. Owen, to whom it was continued from year to year [a]."

It is well known that Mr. afterwards Lord Chief Justice Hale, among the lawyers; and Seth Ward, who was successively bishop of Exeter and Sarum, made no scruple of submitting to this engagement: which was, if we will speak impartially, drawn up in terms the most moderate, and the least exceptionable of any of the state oaths to which the people had been accustomed. And, to the honour of the then government, it must be also said, that they admitted men to take it in their own sense; as appears in the following passage: "The subscriptions of the army to the engagement were return'd by the general to the parliament;

[a] Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, b. I. p. 64. fol. Lond. 1696.

kingdom under his subjection. Here therefore, by inclination, he chose to repair [11].

who upon the generals [Fairfax] subscribing of it, as one of the council of state, in his own sense, the house voted, that his taking of it in that manner, was taking of it within the late act for subscribing of the engagement[a]."

[11] By inclination he chose to repair to Ireland.] Milton has justly observed, "that Charles I. was ever friendly to the Irish papists[b]." This he fully makes appear by the cessation, Glamorgan's transactions, and Ormonde's peace. And the young king had the same disposition towards them. This will be evident from the following extracts. Mr. secretary Nicholas, in a letter to the marquis of Ormonde, written partly before and partly after the execution of Charles, says, "By letters from Holland, I perceive, though some (as the lord Colepepper, lord Percy, and Mr. Long, by directions, it is conceived, from Paris) labour with prince Charles to go for Scotland: yet his highness's own inclinations and most others of the council about him are of opinion, that he go rather for Ireland, if your excellency shall settle a happy peace in that kingdom. —By a letter from the Hague of the 9th present, I am assured by a very credible hand, that P. Charles had then contracted with some Dutchmen of Rotterdam to send immediately two ships of 200 tuns apiece into Ireland, laden with corn and cloaths for soldiers, as well for the provision of the fleet as for the public benefit of that kingdom.——P. Charles is in Holland still, and I hear will take no resolution for his removing

[a] Memorials, p. 442. [b] Iconoclastes, 2d edit. p. 50. 4to. Lond. 1756.

Ireland however could afford him no refuge. For notwithstanding the endeavours of Or-

from thence, till he shall receive letters from Ireland in what condition you are there[a]."——Lord Byron, in a letter to Ormonde, dated, Hague, March 30, 1649, N. S. writes, "The king himself is resolutely bent for Ireland, and is only stayed here for want of money, which his brother the prince of Orange (I doubt) cannot, and the States say they will not, furnish him with unless he go into Scotland and take the covenant: that is the plain English of it, tho' they speak it not openly. The princess dowager of Orange is drawn into this cabal on another score; for she is made believe the king shall marry her daughter, if he comply with the Scots in their desires; and my lord Percy is the chief agent in this business, both upon the promises he hath of establishing his own fortune in case he can effect it, and upon a prudent consideration that Ireland will hardly brook so serpentine a nature as his is. Much prejudice the king receives by some honest but indiscreet persons of his own party, who, by their ranting and railing against the Scots, breed great jealousies and suspicions in them. These humours (God be thanked) since my coming to town are well qualified; for I have been with them all generally, and have calmly urged the necessity of the kings coming into Ireland, with such reasons as they seem to be convinced with, yet, I doubt, in their underhand practices to stop that resolution, they are as active as ever. So much doth private interest sway them above any reason that can be given[b]." Indeed the king's inclination to Ire-

[a] Ormonde's State Papers, by Carte, vol. I. p. 213, 215. 8vo. Lond. 1739. [b] Id p. 238.

monde and his confederates, it was in a good measure subdued by Cromwell, and

land, and indisposition to Scotland, was so great, that he made no scruple of publicly professing it in a memorial delivered by the lords of his majesty's council, to the lords deputies for the States General, March 29, 1649, N. S. In this memorial, after acknowledging the many favours the king had received from the States General since his residence in their dominions, and how acceptable their expressions of detestation for the murder of his father were to him—it proceeds to inform their lordships, "how his majesty in this conjuncture of his affairs intends to dispose of his royal person, and the reasons and grounds of such his intention; and thereupon to desire their lordships advice and assistance, by which (with God's blessing) he shall promise himself good success in his undertakings. We need not inform your lordships," continues the memorial, "of the deplorable condition of his majesty's kingdom of England, where the hearts and affections of all loyal subjects are so depressed and kept under by the power and cruelty of those who murdered our late sovereign, and who every day give fresh and bloody instances of their tyranny, and frighten men from their allegiance, that (for the present) no man can believe that miserable kingdom to be fit for his majesty to trust his person in. In Scotland, it is true, his majesty is proclaimed king, but with such limitations and restrictions against his exercise of his royal power, that (in truth) they have only given him the name and denied him the authority; above five parts in six of the nobility and chief gentry of that kingdom being likewise excluded from their just rights and any part in the administration of public

at length entirely brought under the subjection of the commonwealth of England.

affairs; so that as yet that kingdom cannot be thought sufficiently prepared for his majesty's reception. But his majesty hopes, and doubts not, that there will be in a short time a right understanding and perfect union between all his majesty's subjects of that his kingdom, and a due submission and obedience from them to his majesty: for his majesty is resolved (and had never the least intention or purpose to the contrary) to preserve and maintain the government of church and state there as it is establish'd by the laws in that kingdom, without any alteration or violation on his part; so that there can be no difference between his majesty and his subjects of that his kingdom, except they shall endeavour and press his majesty to alter the laws and government of his other kingdoms, which as it would be very unreasonable for his majesty to desire without their own consents, so without such their consents it is not in his just power to do, if he should join and consent with his subjects of Scotland to that purpose; and therefore (he is confident) when they have thoroughly weighed and consider'd what is good for his majesty and themselves, they will acquiesce with the enjoying the laws and priviledges of that kingdom, without desiring to infringe or impose upon those of their brethren and neighbours. And if any persons have endeavoured to make impressions on your lordships, that the king hath or had any other intention or desires with reference to his subjects of Scotland, than what we have now expressed to your lordships, his majesty desires you to give no credit to them, and assures you you shall always find him constant to these reso-

Charles was in Jersey when his hopes of

lutions, and especially that all ways and means which may tend to the advancement and propagation of the protestant religion shall be so heartily embraced by his majesty, that the world shall have cause to believe him worthy of his title of Defender of the Faith, which he values as his greatest attribute.

"This being the true condition of his majesty's two kingdoms of England and Scotland, and it being necessary for his majesty to give life to the afflicted state of his affairs by his own activity and vigour, your lordships clearly discern that his other kingdom of Ireland is for the present fittest to receive his majesty's person; and thither he intends with all convenient speed to transport himself, being thereunto earnestly advised, and with great importunity invited, by the kingdom of Ireland, and by the marquis of Ormonde his majesty's lieutenant there; by whose great wisdom a peace is there concluded, and thereby the king at this time possess'd entirely of three parts of four of that his large and faithful kingdom, and of the command of good armies and a good fleet to be joined to his navy: and he hath reason to believe that Dublin and the few other places (who have submitted to the rebellious power in England) either are upon the knowledge of that odious paracide returned to their allegiance, or will be suddenly reduced; so that the affairs of that kingdom being settled (which we hope will be in a short time) the king will be ready to go from thence into Scotland, when his presence there shall be requisite. His majesty holds it most agreeable to the good affection he hath and shall always bear to this state, and to the sense he hath of the obligations he hath received from it, before his going from hence, to propose or desire

going to Ireland were thus disappointed.—

that any league formerly entered into between his father of blessed memory, or any other of his predecessors and this state, may be renewed; which for his majesty's part he is very willing and desirous to do, and shall always constantly and inviolably observe the same: and if any larger concessions shall be desired from his majesty which may advance the prosperity of this state, than have been heretofore granted by his predecessors, as soon as his majesty shall be acquainted with such desires, he will manifest how much he values their affection and alliance. And his majesty desires, upon this communication of his counsels and purposes to the lords the States General, that he may receive their lordships advice and assistance for the better transporting himself into Ireland with honour and security; and whatsoever assistance they shall give him thereunto, his majesty will always acknowledge as the most seasonable testimony of their affection; and as soon as he shall be informed of their willingness to gratify him herein, his majesty will make such other particular propositions by your lordships to them concerning Ireland and his other important affairs, as he doubts not will be for the advantage and benefit of this state, as well as for his majesty's present conveniency [a]." Lord Clarendon has given the substance of this memorial, but has falsified it very materially; as will be evident to every one who will give himself the trouble to turn to the page referred to in the margin [b]. Sir Edward Nicolas, in a letter to Ormonde, dated, Havre de Grace, Ap. 19, 1649, N.S. says, "I received this day a copy

[a] Ormonde's State Papers, by Carte, vol. I. p. 260. 8vo. Lond. 1739.
[b] Clarendon, vol. V. p. 297.

But to shew his resolution of maintaining

of a memorial delivered by his majesty's command to the States Deputies at the Hague, which I here enclosed send to your excellency; that by it you may perceive, that a principal reason why his majesty hasteneth so soon into Ireland is, that his majesty hath been thereunto advised, and with importunity invited by that kingdom and by your excellency. I know you invited the prince thither, but now (being king) it seems to me very demonstrable by the articles, that that great change hath so much altered the case, as I much apprehend his majesty's presence in Ireland (before it is better settled, or at least that your excellency be master of Dublin) will be very inconvenient, if not prejudicial to his affairs there, by rendring the Irish catholicks unreasonably importunate, if not mutinous, to get the king (as soon as he shall arrive in Ireland) to call a parliament there in the absence of the greatest part of the protestants, and to settle on them all the churches and benefices now in their hands[a]."—— The king continued in his resolution to go for Ireland; ——but what through indolence and indigence, what through divisions in his council and quarrels among his adherents, he delayed it so long, that Cromwell had reduced the chief places of strength in that kingdom to the obedience of the commonwealth, and rendered it vain for his majesty to think any more of it, or hope for assistance from it.—The knowledge of Charles's disposition towards Ireland made impressions, we may well believe, to his disadvantage. In a letter, written by the Scots to his majesty, whilst he was in Jersey, we find the following expressions: "As we are

[a] Ormonde's Papers, vol. I. p. 258.

his claim to the English throne, he caused

much grieved to consider the many great inconveniences which accompany your majesty's irresolution; so are we much more afflicted to think of the sad effects that may ensue, in case your majesty should be induced to believe, that it can be safe for your majesty to trust your person or affairs to the papists in Ireland; who, for their enmity to the reformed religion, and cruel murder of many thousand protestants in that kingdom, are long since become detestable to all your majesty's subjects, who either fear God, honour your majesty, or wish well to the peace of these kingdoms[a]." This description of the papists in Ireland is far enough from being too severe. They had massacred the protestants: they had formed a general council to carry on the war; and had put themselves, in a good measure, under the direction of the Pope's nuntio: nor were they to be prevailed with to submit to the royal authority, but by pardon and indemnity; by repeal of the best laws for the security of the protestant religion; by giving them a right to arm, and power to claim authority in parliament, in the army, and in the several departments of civil affairs[b]; and were disposed to improve every advantage they possessed. How surprising then, that his majesty should be inclined towards these people, and disposed to trust to them for his security and restoration to his other kingdoms? We may well judge he was pleased with the terms they had gotten, and doubted not of being served by them without reserve. For people of a cruel, barbarous, and inhuman disposition, are fittest to bring about the

[a] Ormonde's Papers, vol. I. p. 325.

[b] See the Articles of Peace between Ormonde and the Irish, 1648.

a declaration to be issued, in which, in high terms, he asserted his rights[12], and vowed revenge on those concerned in the death of his father. That he might be in

designs of princes who like not the trammels of laws; nor will such scruple to domineer, to insult, to lord it over their fellow-subjects in the manner they think most acceptable to their masters. Charles might moreover possibly think, that the great obligations they had to his family, would attach them most firmly to his person and government.

[12] He caused a declaration to be issued, in which he asserted his rights.] This declaration is addressed to all his loving subjects of England, and dominions of Wales; and is said to have been published with the advice of his privy council.

It begins with taking notice "of the murder of his father; and then declares that he is firmly resolved, by the assistance of Almighty God, though he perished alone in the enterprize, to be a severe avenger of his innocent blood.—And we shall therein," continues he, "by all ways and means possible, endeavour to pursue and bring to their due punishment those bloody traitors, who were either actors or contrivers of that unparallel'd and inhuman murder. And since it hath pleased God so to dispose, as by such an untimely martyrdom to deprive us of so good a father, and England of so gracious a king, we do further declare, that by his death, the crown of England, with all priviledges, rights, and preheminences belonging thereto, is, by a clear and undoubted right of succession, justly and lineally descended upon us, as next and immediate heir and successor thereunto, without any condition

some condition of executing his purposes, he transported himself to Breda, where he treated with the commissioners of Scotland, and, submitting to terms, embarked for

or limitation; without any intermission or claim; without any ceremony or solemnity whatsoever: and that by virtue thereof, we are now in right lawfully seiz'd of the said crown, and ought, by the laws of God and that nation, to enjoy a royal power there, as well in church as commonwealth; to govern the people of that kingdom according to the antient and known laws; to maintain them in peace and justice; and to protect and defend them from the oppression of any usurped power whatsoever. And the people of that nation, by the like laws, owe unto us, and ought reciprocally to pay, duty and obedience, as unto their leige lord and sovereign. This royal right of ours is grounded upon so clear a title, is settled by such fundamental laws, confirmed by so many oaths of allegiance in all ages, is supported by such a long continued succession of our royal progenitors, and by such a constant submission of all the people, that the same can admit of no dispute: no act of our predecessors can debar us of it; no power on earth can justly take it from us; and by the undoubted laws of that nation, to oppose us, either in the claim or exercise thereof, is a treason of the highest degree[a]."

After this, many kind words are bestowed on the body of the English nation; the usurped powers are described in the most odious terms; pardon is offered to all, except such as voted or acted in the murder of

[a] Parliamentary Hist. vol. XIX. p. 290.

that kingdom [13]. Here he met with very

his father, and abundance more of those kinds of promises which distress dictates, and prosperity erases: promises which fools believe, and wise men laugh at. ——The declaration is dated at Castle Elizabeth, in the isle of Jersey, Oct. 31, 1649. The doctrine here laid down in the name of the king, was a very hopeful one, it must be confessed; and well fitted to conciliate the minds of men, who understood liberty (as many then admirably did), to his person and government! But such were not the subjects Charles wished for.

[13] Submitting to terms, he embarked for Scotland.] The Scots seem to have been much addicted to families. Oppression they disliked; but the oppressors they loved. Nothing could reconcile them to the former, or alienate them from the latter. The Stuart race had made sad work from time to time among them; but it never entered into their heads to shake off the yoke, by changing families, or establishing a commonwealth, which would have been, in the circumstances of their country, most beneficial; though it deprived the great men of the power of oppressing their vassals. They had got little benefit from Charles I. yet for him they involved themselves in broils with their best benefactors, the English parliament. From Charles II. they reasonably could expect less; and yet they must have him for king, though war with a superior nation, and an all-victorious army, was the known consequence.

I have already observed, that the prince of Wales was proclaimed king by the Scottish parliament, and that they resolved to send a committee to invite him thither on certain conditions. The king was then at the Hague. Commissioners were appointed in consequence of the above resolution; who attended on

many mortifications, and was obliged to

his majesty, but could not bring about what they were sent for. Take their transactions and success in their own words.——"According to our additional instructions of the fifteenth of March," say they, "finding that James Grahame [Montrose] was about the king, we did, by a paper of the twenty seventh of March, desire that he might be removed from his person and court, as one who had been deservedly forefaulted by the parliament, and excommunicate by the kirk of this kingdom; which when we had pressed once and again, his majesty returned this answer, that he was resolved to consider the whole that we had to propose, before he declared his resolution upon any part. Although we were sorry to receive this answer, yet being loath upon this ground to break off (laying that desire aside for the time) we did proceed, and in three propositions offerr'd to his majesty the substance of these things which we were warranted by your lordships to demand. The first whereof was, That his majesty would, by his oath under his hand and seal, allow the covenant, and the solemne league and covenant, and oblige himself to prosecute the enemies thereof in his royal station. Secondly, that he would ratifie all acts of parliament enjoining the solemn league and covenant, and for settling presbyterial government, directors of worship, confession of faith, and catechism, as they are already approven by the general assembly and parliament of Scotland, and would assent to acts of parliament, enjoining the same in England, and observe the same in his own practice and family, and never make opposition thereto. Thirdly, That his majesty would agree that matters civil should be determined by this and subsequent parliaments of this

submit to many restraints, and do many

kingdome, and matters ecclesiastical by the general assemblies of this church, as his royal father did formerly grant. These propositions were pressed with the best reasons we could, both from the justice and necessity of the matter, and from the advantage that would arise to his majesty's affairs upon satisfaction given thereto, which for brevity we forbear to repeat. Instead of an answer, his majesty returned a paper, containing these three queries, First, whether the papers already presented, did contain all that we had to propose? Secondly, whether we had any power to recede from any thing therein, or were bound to insist thereupon in terms as they stood? Thirdly, whether we had any propositions to make towards the advancement of his service, for his restitution to his other kingdoms, and bringing the murderers of his father to justice? And considering that these queries were moved of purpose to obstruct all agreement, and to cause and increase jealousies and differences betwixt his majesty and us, we offered by conference to shew that these queries were materially answered in our paper of April 20, and therefore intreated his majesty not to insist in these or the like, for the moving of them tended greatly to the prejudice of his own affairs at this time. But his majesty finding that conference could not be so well transmitted to his counsell, he insisted on the same, so that we were necessitated to make it appear by writ, that they had been answered in that our former paper. As to the first we answered, that we were not to propose any further unless we were commanded by the parliament or their committee; to the second, our desires proposed were so just and necessary, for securing of religion and the peace of this

things, much contrary to his real inclina-

kingdom, that we could not in reason recede from the matter contained in them, which being retained, we were not to stand with his majesty upon words or terms. And to the third we replyed, that the granting of these desires, would make his majesty's good people do all for him as could be expected of faithful and loyal subjects to their gracious king; and particularly would make them contribute their utmost endeavours, that his majesty might be restored to the possession of his just right of government of his other dominions. And when as yet his majesty seemed not satisfied, and did especially resent, that in these answers nothing was exprest of our sense of the murder of his father, nor was any thing offered to bring the actors thereof to justice; we did by another paper cleer our former answers, and did much regret, that our sense of that horrid fact against the life of our late sovereign, should be called in question; since the parliament, by their commissioners at London, had declared to the world, how much they did abominate and detest the very design thereof: all which, with unanimous consent, was allowed, and approven in parliament. And finding that his majesty did all this while defer to give a direct or positive answer to the propositions, we did by another paper of May 11, with all the freedom and faithfulness we could, press his answer, and did represent to him the great danger and disadvantage, which would inevitably ensue upon his delaying, or refusing, to give the satisfaction desired by that kingdom. Whereupon his majesty gave us this paper of May 29. After consideration whereof, we did represent to his majesty how grievous that answer was to us, and how unsatisfactory it would be to your lord-

tions; which, after all, being but too visible

ships, and therefore forbearing to insist upon particulars, we entreated his majesty to take the same again into consideration, to which his majesty was pleased only to return this general answer, by which your lordships may perceive his majesty's purpose of sending an express hither for your further satisfaction [a]."

The indifference shewn by his majesty to Scotland, and the refusal to comply with its demands, arose, as I before observed, from his hopes of Ireland; and I now add, from his expectations from Montrose, to whom a commission soon after was granted to wage war in that kingdom on the covenanters, and bring them into a more compliable temper. But Charles was out of luck in all his projects from these quarters; and therefore at Breda complied with what he had refused at the Hague, and even with much more, to the no small mortification of many of his followers. Lord Byron, in a letter to major general Daniel O'Neile, dated, Jersey, Feb. 7, 1649, O. S. will explain the reason. "One Windram was sent from Scotland," says he, "with commission to offer the king a solemn address from that kingdom of persons authorised to treat and conclude with him of some course for his restoration in England, and punishment of his fathers murderers; in case he would acknowledge this present convention to be a parliament: which at the Hague he had refused to do. Hereupon the king, finding the council he had here (which consisted but of three persons, my lord Hopton, and the two secretaries, Nicholas and

[a] Proceedings of the Commissioners of the Church and Kingdom of Scotland, with his Majesty at the Hague. Edinburgh, printed by Evan Tyler, 1649.

to those whose power and interest he stood

Long) to be too few to consult upon so weighty a business, thought fit to call all the peers here present to the consultation; which were the earl of Cleveland, lord Wentworth, lord Wilmot, lord Percy, lord Gerrard, and myself. It was generally thought fit, that the king should treat with the Scots: the only question was, whether he should treat with them as a parliament, without which appellation they would not be treated with at all. Many reasons were alledged *pro & contra*; on the one side what dishonor and prejudice would follow upon the king's allowing that to be a parliament, which was not called by his authority, and presumed to sit after his fathers death, and did still proceed so vigorously against his party; on the other side, it was urged, that the calling this a parliament on the back side of a letter did not really and legally make it one, and that real advantages were not to be lost for airy words and titles; that both the king of Spain and other princes had made no difficulty to give their rebellious subjects any titles they would demand, when they were grown too powerful to be punished by them, and when they had no other means left to reap advantages from them. For my own part I was all this time a neuter, and resolved not to give my conclusive opinion till I knew the true state of Ireland, and what advice the king should receive from thence. Immediately upon this, after a most dangerous passage, Mr. Seymour arrived; by whose discourse, as well as by the letters I received both from yourself and others, I was fixed in the opinion I before wavered in; which was, that the king in the dangerous situation he was in should not stick at words to obtain a treaty with the Scots, and provided he could retrieve to himself the

in need of, he condescended to practise

superintendency of his affairs in England and Ireland, to condescend to any thing that concerned Scotland[a]."

The following propositions, with his majesty's assent, will give us the best idea of the conditions agreed on between him and the commissioners of Scotland.

"We [desire] that your majestie shall sweare, subscribe, and seal the national covenant of Scotland, and the solemne league and covenant of Scotland, England, and Ireland, in the words following to be subjoined to both:

'I Charles, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, doe assure and declare by my solemne oath, in the presence of Almighty God the searcher of hearts, my allowance and approbation of the national covenant, and of the solemn league and covenant above written; and faithfully oblige myself to prosecute the ends thereof in my station and calling; and that I for myself and successors shall consent and agree to all acts of parliament enjoining the national covenant, and the solemne league and covenant, and fully establishing presbyteriall government, the directory of worship, confession of faith, and catechisms, in the kingdom of Scotland; as they are approven by the general assembly of this kirk and parliament of this kingdome; and that I shall give my royal assent to acts of parliament, bills, ordinances past, or to be past in the houses of parliament, enjoyning the same in the rest of my dominions; and that I shall observe these in my own practice and family, and shall never make opposition to any of these, or endeavour any change thereof:'

"His majesty doth consent to this whole proposition

[a] Ormonde's Papers, vol. I. p. 338.

*in terminis*; and for performance thereof his majesty doth declare in *verbo principis*, that so soon as he shall be desyred by the parliament and the general assembly, or by their commissioners, he shall solemnly swear, subscribe and seal the national covenant of Scotland, and the solemne league and covenant of Scotland, England, and Ireland, in the words preceeding, subjoined to both.

" We desire that your majesty would acknowledge the authority of this and the former parliaments, that has been since the time of your royal father, or his commissioners were present therein; and that your majesty give such an allowance of the acts made in this and the three last immediately preceeding sessions of this current parliament since the fourth of January 1649, as your majesty's royal father gave in 1641, unto the acts made in the session of parliament 11th June 1640; and that your majesty would consent and agree, that all matters civil would be determined by this and the subsequent parliaments of this kingdome; and such as are or shall be authorized by them; and matters ecclesiastical, by the ensuing assemblies of this kirk, and such as are, or shall be authorized by them:

" His majesty doth consent to this whole proposition *in terminis.*

" His majesty having also received the proposition following:

" We desire, that your majesty would recall and disclaim all commissions issued forth for acting any thing by sea or land to the prejudice of the covenant, or of this kingdome; or of any, who do or shall adhere to the solemne league and covenant, and to monarchical government, in any other of your majesty's dominions, and all other declarations made by any in your majesty's name or by you warranted against the samen; and

further, that your majesty would disallow, and disclaime or declare null and void, all treaties or agreements whatsoever with the bloody rebels in Ireland; and to declare that your majesty would never allow nor permit any liberty of the popish religion in Ireland, or any other part of your majesties dominions:

" His majesty doth consent to this whole proposition *in terminis.*

" His majesty having received the proposition following:

" We desire, that your majesty would be resolved to swear at your coronation by and attour the oath of the covenant aforesaid, the oath appointed by the 8th act of the first parliament of your royal grandfather king James VI. and ratified thereafter by manie acts, and insert in the national covenant, to be sworne by all kings and princes of Scotland, at their coronation; and that your majesty would then declare, that you will in matters civil follow the counsel of your parliaments, and such as are or shall be authorized by them; and in matters ecclesiastical by the counsel of the general assembly, and such as are or shall be authorized by them:

" His majesty doth consent to this whole proposition *in terminis*[a]."

Such were the terms on which Charles was permitted to enter Scotland and possess the throne of his ancestors! Terms hard, rigorous, and severe! which there was little reason to expect that he would observe, and therefore should neither have been demanded, nor complied with. To think that a Stuart, whose house was always averse to the covenants, the churchmen, the assemblies, and the whole government ecclesias-

[a] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. I. p. 147. fol. Lond. 1742.

the most shameful dissimulation[14] that we

tical, would indeed pay a regard to them, was weak beyond imagination. The father of the young king had them in abhorrence: his counsellors were those who had been his father's; and, had it not been for self-ends, he and they would have been glad to have rooted them out; but the government was now in a good measure under the direction of ecclesiastics, which will at once account for the absurdity of the supposition, and the intolerant spirit so very visible in the propositions.—On the other hand, one cannot but stand amazed at the daring assurance of those about the king, who could advise him to consent to terms which they knew he never would observe, and which the observation of must have terminated in the ruin of themselves and their friends. But necessity, dire necessity, was the excuse. The king knew not where to go: he had no sense of the obligations of truth; and cared not whom he deceived, or who were losers, provided he might accomplish his own ends.

[14] He met with many mortifications,—and practised the most shameful dissimulation.] "The king," says Burnet, "sailed home to Scotland[a] in some Dutch men of war with which the prince of Orange furnished him, with all the stock of money and arms that his credit could raise. That indeed would not have been very great, if the prince of Orange had not joined his own to it. The duke of Hamilton and the earl of Lauderdale were suffered to go home with him: but soon after his landing an order came to put them from him. The king complained of this; but duke Hamilton at parting told him, he must prepare for things of

[a] He landed in Scotland June 23, 1650.

any where read of. This exposed him to many severe reproaches. The army, how-

a harder digestion: he said, at present, he could do him no service: the marquis of Argyle was then in absolute credit: therefore he desired that he would study to gain him, and give him no cause of jealousy on his account. This king Charles told me himself, as a part of duke Hamilton's character. The duke of Buckingham took all the ways possible to gain lord Argyle, and the ministers: only his dissolute course of life was excessive scandalous; which to their great reproach they connived at, because he advised the king to put himself wholly into their hands. The king wrought himself into as grave a deportment as he could: he heard many prayers and sermons, some of a great length. I remember in one fast day there were six sermons preached without intermission. I was there myself, and not a little weary of so tedious a service. The king was not allowed so much as to walk abroad on Sundays: and if at any time there had been any gaiety at court, such as dancing, or playing at cards, he was severely reproved for it. This was managed with so much rigour, and so little discretion, that it contributed not a little to beget in him an aversion to all sorts of strictness in religion. All that had acted on his father's side, were ordered to keep at a great distance from him: and because the common people shewed some affection to the king, the crouds that pressed to see him were also kept off from coming about him[a]."

But this was not all:—with uplifted hand he swore to the covenant, in the words he had promised at

[a] Hist. of his own Times, vol. I. p. 53. fol. Lond. 1724.

ever, which had been raised on his behalf, were animated with zeal. They viewed his

Breda; and refusing to publish a declaration agreeable to the minds of the ruling party, the following act was made by the commissioners of the general assembly at the West kirk at Edinburgh.——" West kirk, Aug. 13, 1650. The commission of the general assembly, considering that there may be just ground of stumbling, from the king's majesty's refusing to subscribe and emit the declaration, offerr'd to him by the committee of estates and the commission of the general assembly, concerning his former carriage and resolutions for the future, in reference to the cause of God, and the enemies and friends thereof; doth therefore declare, that this kirk and kingdom doth not own or espouse any malignant party, or quarrel or interest; but that they fight meerly upon their former grounds and principles, and in defence of the cause of God, and of the kingdom, as they have done these twelve years past: and therefore as they disclaim all the sin and guilt of the king and his house, so they will not own him nor his interest, otherwise than with a subordination to God, and so far as he owns and prosecutes the cause of God, and disclaims his and his father's opposition to the work of God, and to the covenant; and likewise all the enemies thereof; and that they will, with convenient speed, take into consideration the papers lately sent unto them by Oliver Cromwell, and vindicate themselves from all the falshoods contained therein, especially in those things wherein the quarrel betwixt us and that party is mis-stated, as if we owned the late king's proceedings, and were resolved to prosecute and maintain his present majesty's interest before and with-

and their cause, as the cause of God; and doubted not of obtaining the victory over

out acknowledgment of the sin of his house and former ways, and satisfaction to God's people in both kingdoms[a]."

This act produced its effects. Charles became now wholly submissive. The declaration he had refused, he signed and published; though it rendered him very contemptible to the understanding men of all parties. Some remarkable particulars in it, the reader will, perhaps, be glad to see.—It is dated at Dumfermling, Aug. 16, 1650. "His majesty, taking into consideration," says the declaration, "that merciful dispensation of Divine Providence, by which he hath been recovered out of the snare of evil counsel; and hath obtained so full persuasion and confidence of the loyalty of his people in Scotland, with whom he hath too long stood at a distance; and of the righteousness of their cause, as to join in one covenant with them, and to cast himself and his interest wholly upon God,—doth, in reference to his former deportments, and as to his resolutions for the future, declare as follows: Though his majesty, as a dutiful son, be obliged to honour the memory of his royal father and have in estimation the person of his mother, yet doth he desire to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit before God, because of his father's hearkening to and following evil counsels, and his opposition to the work of reformation, and to the solemn league and covenant, by which so much of the blood of the Lord's people hath been shed in

[a] Crookshank's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, vol. I. p. 41. 8vo. Lond. 1749.

the English sectaries, who, under the command of Cromwell, had entered Scotland,

these kingdoms; and for the idolatry of his mother, the toleration whereof in the king's house, as it was matter of great stumbling to all the protestant churches, so could it not but be an high provocation of him who is a jealous God, visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children: and albeit his majesty might extenuate his former carriages and actions, in following of the advice, and walking in the way of those who are opposite to the covenant and to the work of God, and might excuse his delaying to give satisfaction to the just and necessary desires of the kirk and kingdom of Scotland, from his education, and age, and evil counsel, and company; and from the strange and insolent proceedings of sectaries against his royal father, and in reference to religion and the antient government of the kingdom of England, to which he hath the undoubted right of succession; yet, knowing he hath to do with God, he doth ingenuously acknowledge all his own sins, and all the sins of his father's house; craving pardon, and hoping for mercy and reconciliation, through the blood of Jesus Christ. And as he doth value the constant addresses that were made by his people to the throne of grace on his behalf, when he stood in opposition to the work of God, as a singular testimony of long-suffering, patience, and mercy upon the Lord's part, and loyalty upon theirs; so doth he hope, and shall take it as one of the greatest tokens of their love and affection to him and to his government, that they will continue in prayer and supplication for him, that the Lord, who spared and preserved him to this day, notwithstanding all his own guiltiness, may

to prevent their own country's being made

be at peace with him, and give him to fear the Lord his God, and to serve him with a perfect heart, and with a willing heart, all the days of his life. And his majesty having, upon full perswasion of the justice and equity of all the heads and articles thereof, now sworn and subscribed the national covenant of the kingdom of Scotland, and the solemn league and covenant of the three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, doth declare that he hath not sworn and subscribed these covenants, and entered into the oath of God with his people, upon any sinister intention and crooked design, for attaining his own ends; but, so far as human weakness will permit, in the truth and sincerity of his heart; and that he is firmly resolved, in the Lords strength, to adhere thereunto, and to prosecute to the utmost of his power all the ends thereof, in his station and calling, really, constantly, and sincerely all the days of his life. In order to which, he doth, in the first place, profess and declare, that he will have no enemies, but the enemies of the covenant; and that he will have no friends, but the friends of the covenant: and therefore, as he doth now detest and abhor all popery, superstition and idolatry, together with prelacy, and all errors, heresy, schism, and profaneness, and resolves not to tollerate, much less allow, any of these in any part of his majesties dominions; but to oppose himself thereto, and to endeavour the extirpation thereof to the utmost of his power; so doth he, as a Christian, exhort, and, as a king, require, that all such of his subjects, who have stood in opposition to the solemn league and covenant, and work of reformation, upon pretence of kingly interest, or any other pretence whatsoever, to

the scene of a war, which seemed unavoid-

lay down their enmity against the cause and people of God, and cease to prefer the interest of man to the interest of God; which hath been one of those things which hath occasioned many troubles and calamities in these kingdoms; and, being insisted on, will be so far from establishing of the king's throne, that it will prove an idol of jealousy to provoke unto wrath him who is King of kings, and Lord of lords[a]."——The whole declaration is of a piece with what is here presented to view; and will justly excite astonishment at the folly of those who drew it, as well as of the barefaced hypocrisy of him who submitted to expose it to the world as his own act.——It was treated as it deserved, by the parliament of the commonwealth of England; who caused it to be printed, and answered paragraph by paragraph. There is a spirit in their reply which will please all who have a sense of liberty. "The dispensations of divine Providence," say they, "are indeed merciful, by which princes or governors are at any time really recovered out of the snare of evil counsel; yet when this is done by the violence of an absolute necessity, it is seldom real or lasting; and then the mercy of it is but little to the people, who will taste the bitter fruit of such dissimulations when it is too late. It seems that the king of Scotland can now profess to the world he hath been in the snare of evil counsel, &c. We do not deny but his former councils, as well as himself, have suffered a great change, through the merciful dispensation of divine Providence to this commonwealth, prospering so wonderfully our armies in Ireland as to exclude him and

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XIX. p. 362.

able. But the event shewed their hopes

his interest in a great measure from thence, and preserving this nation in peace within itself, to prevent any footing to be given him here; whereby he was reduced to the course he hath now taken, to say what the parliament and kirk of Scotland shall put into his mouth, and tell him is fit for him and his affairs to declare, or else to lose all. And if Scotland do esteem it so great a mercy, to have him reduced to this pure necessity of casting himself into their arms, we know to whom, under God, they owe the obligation; a blessing which, we confess, we do not envy them, and which, were we secured never to be partaker of with them, or by their means, we should not hinder them from the free and full enjoyment of; having, by sad experience, found what it is to have a king, though never so well beset in appearance with good men about him, or to trust to his repentances and promises, oaths, or declarations, how fair soever in shew, and how strong soever laid down in words.——The first testimony of the good of the new councils, into whose hands the Scots king hath cast himself, is the repentence towards God which they advise him to make, in reference to his own sins, and the sins of his fathers house; a matter in itself truly praise-worthy, and the consequence whereof, in the words wherein it is express'd, doth in no small measure reach to the acknowledgement of the just hand of God upon his father and mother, in banishing of the one, and taking away the life of the other by the hand of justice; putting it into the hearts of those here, that remained faithful to their trust in parliament, to cause his blood to be poured forth, by whose personal actions, authority, and commissions, so much of the blood of the Lords

were ill-grounded. For at the battle of

people hath been shed in the three nations, as this declaration itself acknowledges; and for which therefore we have reason to bless God, and admire his providence, that out of the mouth of the son there hath, in the sight of the whole world, been brought forth such a justification of the sentence passed and executed upon the father. But as to the manner of declaring this repentence, that is to say, with the qualifications therein allowed of; whereby, under the pretence of a dutiful son, he may still retain in memory his fathers actions of tyranny for his pattern; and, through the high estimation of his mother, have his ears still open to her counsels, as often as she can convey them to him: and as sensible he must be of his own and his own and his fathers enmity and opposition against the Lords people in the three nations; yet he must still be encouraged to persist in the same against those who are truly the Lords people, under the pretence of sectaries: these are such inconsistencies and haltings in so serious a work, that as it is justly to be feared that God will not be well pleased therewith, so neither will it have its expected effect amongst men, who with ease may see through the deceit and lameness of it, and will, with greater abhorrency, be aware of them and their designs that strive to cover themselves with webs that will not prove garments, but whose nakedness doth still appear. It is somewhat early days for him, who, by reason of his education and age, and the counsel and company hitherto about him, could not be much furthered into the sight of the justice and equity of what is contained in the covenants mentioned; presently, that is to say in the space of almost twenty four hours, to

Dunbar they were totally routed, with the

grow up into the full perswasion of the justice and equity of all the heads and articles of those covenants, and to be able to declare, that he hath not sworn nor subscribed them upon any sinister intention and crooked design for attaining his own ends; and with so fixed a resolution to persist therein really, constantly, and sincerely all the days of his life; when as the commissioners of the general assembly, in their declaration, dated the 13th of August, do say, that there may be just grounds of stumbling from his refusing to emit this declaration; and do tell him in so many words, that they will not own him nor his interest, otherwise than with a subordination to God, and in so far as he owns and prosecutes the cause of God, and disclaims his and his father's opposition to the work of God, and to the covenant, and all the enemies thereof; and notwithstanding all, he still persists in his refusal, withdrawing to Dumferling, whither the marquis of Argyle and earl of Lothian are sent after to press him to subscribe; and in the mean time, overtures are made, under-hand, to our army, as if things might yet be made up in a fair way, and their king and they were not likely to agree. And on the 15th of August, a remonstrance and supplication of the officers of the Scots army, by way of seconding the foresaid declaration of the committee of estates and commissioners of the general assembly, was presented to, and approv'd of by, the committee of estates; and on the 16th of the said August, the declaration so earnestly pressed upon him, or rather forcibly extorted from him, is subscribed and emitted by him. And now, in a moment, what a blessed and hopeful change is wrought upon this young king? How hearty is he become to the cause of God,

loss of their baggage, artillery, and ammu-

and the work of reformation? And how readily doth he swallow down these bitter pills which are prepared for and urg'd upon him, as necessary to effect that desperate cure under which his affairs lie? But who sees not the gross hypocrisy of this whole transaction, and the sandy and rotten foundation of all the resolutions flowing hereupon? As first, he that, on the 15th of August, hugg'd all his malignant and popish party in his bosom, and lodged them in the secret reserves of his favour and love as his best friends, can now, on the 16th, the day following, from a fulness of perswasion of the justice and equity of all the heads and articles of the covenant, renounce and discard them in the sight of God and the world, and vow never to have any more to do with them, as old sinners, unless they, by his example, turn to be as good converts as himself, and be able to personate and act the same part; and so, by virtue of the very covenant itself, eat out and undermine those who conscientiously and honestly intend the ends of it. The sad experience whereof, was as well seen in the managing the whole business of the duke of Hamiltons invasion, as in many of the then members in both houses; who never shewed more zeal for the covenant,' than when they found that thereby they could suppress and beat down the truly godly and honest party, as sectaries and enemies to monarchical government, and buoy up the sinking and lost reputations of the most engaged royalists and rotten-hearted apostates, under pretence that they were turned friends to the work of reformation, and for upholding the church interest. And if in this sense the Scots king will have no enemies, but the enemies of the covenant; nor no friends but the

nition. This we may well suppose was matter of great joy to Cromwell and his masters, and no less so, if we give credit to some historians, to the Scots king, who

friends of the covenant, he makes but little change; for he hath the same friends and enemies he had before, with this only difference, that by his and his party's becoming, in appearance, friends to the covenant for a while, they have the opportunity at the last to make use of this engine, the better to undermine and oppose the true ends of the covenant, than by a flat opposition to it: and, to obtain a crown, what dissimulation is not thought lawful by politicians? Though a larger measure than what is held forth in this declaration cannot easily be instanced; and which therefore, we doubt not but God, who is the searcher of the hearts and trier of the reins, will proceed further to discover in the face of the sun, and more severely judge in this new king of Scots and his house, than if he had dealt plainly with God and men, and held himself forth in his own colours. The little time which he hath been upon the stage having sufficiently laid him open what he is, a true inheritor of his fathers principles and counsels, wherein he may be traced all along; and even in this last action, wherein he hath trod in the steps of his father, as well as other his predecessors; who, whenever they found themselves in Scotland beset with the power of the kirk and state, did subscribe and emit whatever was press'd upon them, though they resolved to break all that ever was so done by them upon the first occasion."——In this strain the rest of the answer runs. I will give one extract more from it; which will shew the resolution

was then at St. Johnstons. Though Cromwell neglected not making use of his victory, the Scots were not disheartened. Different and adverse parties united in his

of the parliament, and their defiance of the king. It relates to an act of oblivion offer'd by him in his declaration.—"Touching the act of oblivion offered," say they, "it is no doubt the effect of a great desire the king of Scots hath to receive that which he pretends unto in the government of England, an acknowledgment of his power to dispense such favours: But, in the mean time, we must observe who it is that makes this offer, a traitor to the parliament and people of England, and who by his past actings against them, hath rendered himself obnoxious to their severest censures, from which we hold him no way absolved by assumption or declaration of a Scots kingship. He who by law, and his guilt, stands incapable of the meanest priviledge amongst us, doth he think himself qualified to exercise the greatest? Shall the malefactor be presumed to have power to give pardon to his judge? Or do the Scots or their king imagine, under pretence of an act of oblivion, to seduce England to receive their laws from Scotland? The obstructors of real reformation we are as much against as he or they can pretend to be, as by our acts and actions appear; amongst which we reckon it not the least, that that grand enemy to reformation, the father of the now declarer, after his long and bloody progress made in destruction and devastation of the innocent people in the three nations (the guilt whereof upon him being a truth so apparent, as both himself and son, and our now enemies of Scotland, have been forced to acknow-

majesty's service against the common foe, and agreed to set the crown on the head of their king. This was performed at Scone, January the first, one thousand six hundred and fifty, old style. Here the same[15] dis-

ledge) hath been, by our authority, tried, adjudged, and executed for his notorious treasons, tyrannies, and murders; whereof, whatever the interpretation be given by the son of that murderer, or other his partizans, old or new malignants, late apostates, or detestable neutrals, who style the act of justice, murder, with like truth, as those who call good, evil; and evil, good; light, darkness; and darkness, light; we, for our parts, bless God for that opportunity put into our hands of offering that sacrifice to divine justice, towards vindication and cleansing of our land from that blood wherewith, by that murderer and his party, it was so miserably defiled[a]." Men that speak in this strain, must have little apprehension of danger, or be greatly superior to the fear of it.

[15] At the coronation at Scone, Charles practised the same dissimulation, and was obliged to hear things not most pleasing.] The king, we see, scrupled not to say, or do, any thing that was thought requisite, by those about him, to accomplish his purposes. By his former professions, he had deceived a number of honest, ignorant zealots, to risk and lose their lives in his quarrel at Dunbar: and by like professions, he attempted again to engage people in his behalf, and expose themselves to innumerable woes. For mankind are led by appearances, and deceived by sounds, which are insignificant

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XIX. p. 364—380.

simulation was practised by Charles; and he was forced to hear things not most pleasing to kings in general, or acceptable to himself in particular.——That the sovereign of right was liable to controul;

and unmeaning in the mouth of the utterer. A fresh farce was now necessary, and his majesty had a principal part assigned him in it. The particulars I shall give from unexceptionable authorities.——"The battle of Dunbar," says Burnet, "procured a great change in the counsels of Scotland, for by that time the honester and better part of the clergy were, by the murder of the king, and the other proceedings in England, filled with distaste and horror at them, and began to think how defective they had hitherto been in their duty to the king, and therefore resolved to adhere more faithfully to it in all time coming. Others of the church party did also see, that as Cromwell was setting up a commonwealth in England, so they found many of the forwarder amongst themselves very much inclined to it in Scotland. This divided them from the other violent party, and made them join more cordially with the king, and be willing to receive his other faithful servants to oppose the common enemy: therefore it was brought under debate, if the act of classes, that excluded them from trust, should not be rescinded, and all subjects allowed to enjoy their priviledges, and suffered to resist the common enemy. After long debate, it was carried in the affirmative; yet none were to be received but upon particular applications and professions of repentance. The commission of the kirk, being also asked their opinions, declared that in

and, that the people had laws and liberties to defend; he was given very plainly to understand. At the same time, the iniqui-

such an exigency, when the enemy was master of all on the south of Forth and Clyde, all sensible persons might be raised for the defence of the country. This was called the Resolution of the General Assembly, and was ratified by the subsequent General Assembly. But against this many ministers protested; and from thence arose great heats and divisions among those of the kirkmen, who owned the public resolutions, and those who protested against them, the one being called Publick Resolutioners, and the other Protestors. And now all churches were full of pretended penitents; for every one that offered his service to the king, was received upon the publick profession of his repentance for his former malignancy, wherein all saw they were only doing it in complyance to the peremptory humour of that time[a]." As to Charles himself, he again promised, covenanted, and swore all and every thing required from him. On receiving the news of Dunbar, he wrote a letter to the committee of estates, in which, in canting hypocritical terms, he condoles and encourages them. "Wee cannot but acknowledge, that the stroake and tryall is very hard to be borne," says he, "and would be impossible for us and yow, in human strength; but in the Lord's we are bold and confident, whoe hath always defended this antient kingdom, and transmitted the government of it upon us from soe many worthy predecessors, whoe in the lyke difficulties have not fainted; and they had only the honor

[a] Memoirs of Hamilton, p. 424. fol. Lond. 1677.

ties of his father's house, and their breach of the covenant, was brought to his remembrance: and humiliation for his own sins,

and civil liberties of the land to defend, but wee have with yow religion, the gospell, and the covenant, against which hell shall not prevail, much less a number of sectaries stirred up by it. We acknowledge, that what hath befallen is just from God for our sins, and those of our house and the whole land, and all the families in it have likewise helped to pull down the judgment, and to kindle this fierce wrath. We shall strive to be humbled, that the Lord may be appeased, and that he may returne to the thousands of his people, and comforte us accordinge to the days wee have beene afflicted, and the yeares we have seen evill[a]."—On the day of his coronation, in answer to a short introductory speech of lord Loudon's, he said, "I do esteem the affections of my people, more than the crowns of many kingdoms; and shall be ready, by Gods assistance, to bestow my life in their defence, wishing to live no longer than I may see religion and this kingdom flourish in all happiness[b]." This was admirable!—On the same day he, "kneeling and lifting up his right hand, did, in the presence of Almighty God, swear his approbation and allowance of the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant; and afterwards swore to observe and keep the Coronation-oath administred unto him, which expresly required the observation of the laws and constitutions of that realm, and the rooting out all hereticks and enemies of God, that

[a] Thurloe's Papers, vol. I. p. 163. [b] Form and Order of the Coronation of Charles II. at Scone, apud Phœnix, vol. I. p. 293. 8vo. Lond 1707.

and personal reformation, were pressed upon him in a manner which will appear, at

should be convicted by the true kirk of God of the aforesaid crimes." Lord Clarendon has been careful to suppress all these transactions of his master.—I have said, in the text, that his majesty was obliged at his coronation to hear some things not most pleasing to kings, or acceptable to himself in particular. These were contained in a sermon then preached by Mr. Robert Dowglas, minister at Edinburgh, moderator of the commission of the general assembly. He took for a text, 2 Kings, xi. ver. 12, 17. "And he brought forth the king's son, and put the crown upon him, and gave him the testimony; and they made him king, and anointed him, and they clapt their hands, and said, God save the king. And Jehoiada made a covenant between the Lord, and the king, and the people, that they should be the Lord's people, between the king also and the people." "It is clear from this covenant," said the preacher, "that a king hath not absolute power to do what he pleaseth; he is tied to conditions by virtue of a covenant.—There is a threefold limitation of the king's power. 1. In regard to subordination. There is a power above his, even Gods power, whom he is obliged to obey, and to whom he must give an account of his administration. 2. In regard of laws. A king is sworn at his coronation to rule according to the standing received laws of the kingdom. The laws he is swore to, limit him, that he cannot do against them, without a sinful breach of this covenant between the king and the people. 3. In regard of government. The total government is not upon a king. He hath counsellors, a parliament, or estates in the land, who

this time, very rude and insolent. But all this had an effect in raising an army again

share in the burden of government. It was never the mind of those who received a king to rule them, to lay all their government upon him, to do what he pleaseth without controulment. There is no man able alone to govern all.——These men who have flattered kings to take unto them an absolute power to do what they please, have wronged kings and kingdoms. It had been good, that kings of late had carried themselves so, as this question of kings power might never have come in debate; for they have been great losers thereby. Kings are very desirous to have things spoken and written to hold up their arbitrary and unlimited power; but that way doth exceedingly wrong them. There is one [Salmasius], a learned man, I confess, who hath written a book for the maintenance of the absolute power of kings, call'd, Defensio Regia[a], whereby he hath wrong'd himself in his reputation, and the king in his government. As for the fact of taking away the life of the late king (whatever was Gods justice in it) I do agree with him to condemn it, as a most unjust and horrid fact, upon their parts who did it: but when he cometh to speak to the power of kings, in giving to them an absolute and illimited power, urging the damnable maxim, *Quod libet licet*, he will have a king to do what he pleaseth *impune*, and without controulment; in this I cannot but dissent from him. In regard of subordination, some say, that a king is countable to none but God: do what he will,

[a] He was hired to write this book by Charles II. for an hundred Jacobuses. Milton's Defensio pro populo Anglicano, is an answer to it. See concerning both these books, Toland's Life of Milton, p. 82. 2d edit.

for the support of his rights, as they were called. Of this his majesty took the com-

let God take order with it. This leadeth kings to atheism, let them do what they please, and take God in their own hand. In regard of laws, they teach nothing to kings but tyranny: and in regard of government, they teach a king to take an arbitrary power to himself, to what he pleaseth without controulment. How dangerous this hath been to kings, is clear by sad experience. Abuse of power, and arbitrary government, hath been one of Gods great controversies with our kings and predecessors: God in his justice, because power hath been abused, hath thrown it out of their hands: and I may confidently say, that Gods controversy with the kings of the earth, is for their arbitrary and tyrannical government. It is good for our king to learn to be wise in time, and know, that he receiveth this day a power to govern, but a power limited by contract; and these conditions he is bound by oath to stand to. Kings are deceived, who think that the people are ordained for the king, and not the king for the people. The scripture sheweth the contrary, Rom. iii. 14. The king is the minister of God for the peoples good[a]." All this was very honest; and, in point of real edification, beyond any thing, perhaps, ever delivered on a like occasion. The preacher, we may be assured, had no intentions of making court, or views to preferment. Few will follow the example!

Charles, it may be supposed from his education, could not be much delighted with these instructions.

[a] Form and Order of the Coronation of Charles II. at Scone, apud Phœnix, vol. I. p. 244. 8vo. Lond. 1707.

mand; and, being closely pressed by Cromwell, set forward for England. Here he

There is no doubt, what follows did not less please him.——"There are many sins upon our king and his family. Sin will make the surest crown, that ever men set on, to totter. The sins of former kings have made this a tottering crown. I shall not insist here, seeing there hath been a solemn day of humiliation through the land, on Thursday last, for the sins of the royal family. I wish the Lord may bless it; and desire the king may be truly humbled for his own sins, and the sins of his fathers house, which have been great. Beware of putting on these sins with the crown; for if you put them on, all the well-wishers to a king in the three kingdoms, will not be able to hold on the crown, and keep it from tottering; yea, from falling. Lord, take away the controversy with the royal family, that the crown may be fastened sure on the king's head, without falling or tottering [a].——A king should reform his own life, that he may be a pattern of godliness to others; and to this he is tied by the covenants.——A king should not follow Machiavel his counsel, who requireth not that a prince should be truly religious, but saith that a shadow of it, and external simulation are sufficient: a devilish council, and it is just with God to bring a king to the shadow of a kingdom, who hath but the shadow of religion. We know that dissembling kings have been punished of God; and let our king know, that no king but a religious king can please God.——It is earnestly to be wished that our kings heart may be

[a] Form and Order of the Coronation of Charles II. at Scone, apud Phœnix, vol. I. p. 236. 8vo. Lond. 1707.

hoped to be joined by great numbers. But he was deceived. However, he continued his march to Worcester; where, being over-

tender, and be truly humbled before the Lord for the sins of his fathers house, and of the land, and for the many evils that are upon that family, and upon the kingdom[a]."——In the close, Mr. Dowglas gives his majesty "a warning example," as he calls it, "in the recent memory of his grandfather king James. He happened," continues he, "to be very young, in a time full of difficulties; yet there was a godly party in the land, who did put the crown upon his head. And when he came to some years, he and his people enter'd in a covenant with God: he was much commended by godly and faithful men, comparing him to young Josiah standing at the altar, renewing a covenant with God. And he himself did thank God that he was born in a reformed kirk, better reformed than England, for they retained many popish ceremonies; yea better reformed than Geneva, for they kept some holy-days: charging his people to be constant, and promising himself to continue in that reformation, and to maintain the same. Notwithstanding all this, he made a foul defection: he remembered not the kindness of them who had held the crown upon his head; yea, he persecuted faithful ministers, for opposing that course of defection. He never rested till he had undone presbyterian government and kirk assemblies, setting up bishops, and bringing in ceremonies, against which he had formerly given large testimony. In a word, he laid the foundation, where-

[a] Form and Order of the Coronation of Charles II. at Scone, apud Phœnix, vol. I. p. 242. 8vo. Lond. 1707.

taken by Cromwell, a battle ensued, which, in the opinion of his friends and his foes, seemed for ever to have put an end to his

upon his son, our late king, did build much mischief to religion all the days of his life.

"Sir, I lay this example before you the rather, because it is so near you, that the guiltiness of the transgression lieth upon the throne and family, and it is one of the sins for which you professed humiliation very lately. Let it be laid to heart, take warning, requite not faithful mens kindness with persecution; yea, requite not the Lord so, who hath preserv'd you to this time, and is setting a crown upon your head. Requite not the Lord with apostacy and defection from a sworn covenant, but be stedfast in the covenant, as you would give testimony of your true humiliation for the defection of those that went before you[a]." This was talking very plain indeed, and may be thought to savour much of rudeness and ill-breeding. But such was the manner of the age and nation. Court preachers have much improved since. They consider the presence: they bear in mind the rank of the audience: they remember from whom preferment comes, and endeavour to recommend themselves unto them. In short, they study to find out acceptable words, and are careful to avoid giving any offence. Whether this, or the plain blunt manner of Mr. Dowglas, tends most to give a good opinion of the preacher, and of his belief of the great truths of religion, is not very problematical. Certain it is, good men will be most pleased with the one; bad men with the other. The mean, however,

[a] Form and Order of the Coronation of Charles II. at Scone, apud Phœnix, vol. I. p. 260. 8vo. Lond. 1707.

hopes of possessing the throne[16] of his fa-

will be chosen by sensible, virtuous, well-bred ecclesiastics.

[16] The battle of Worcester seemed for ever to have put an end to the king's hopes of possessing the throne.] Of the battle of Worcester I have elsewhere spoken[a]; suffice it here to say, it was decisive. This filled the royalists with fear and despair. All, in their opinion, was lost; and Charles was doomed to beg in exile, unless the pope interposed in his behalf with the princes of his communion. This was the opinion of the marquis of Ormonde. His letter to lord Clanricarde, on this occasion, will more fully explain it. "Whilst others," says he, "entertain you with more particulars of this great blow, I cannot forbear to acquaint you with those circumstances, that to me makes it appear more despairingly, and conclusive to all our hopes, than perhaps is apprehended by some. Be pleased to consider, when it may again be reasonably hoped to have a king of England at the head of 20,000 of his own subjects in the heart of England, and to have the rebels at the same time employed with two other armies, the one in Ireland, the other in Scotland; whether ever such as have professed themselves ready to rise upon a much weaker countenance, and have failed upon this, will be relied on by any foreigner; or when it can be hoped, that foreign princes will be so much at one amongst themselves, and so generous as to assist our king with such an army: and if they were, will they not find the rebels much more strong by the conquest of Ireland and Scotland, and much more experienced in the ways of rule and government?

[a] See vol. III. note 37.

thers. This was on the third of September,

and will not the exceptions taken at the kings coming with a Scottish power be more obviously taken up against any foreigner, of what nation or religion soever, by those that are weary of hazards, and indulgent to their ease, pleasure and profit? More of these questions might be asked than I take pleasure to find out: and that it may appear I seek not these to justify my slackening of my duty to my king, but to be clear in the discharge of my thoughts to you, to whom I have an inseparable friendship, I will give you my conceptions of the remaining way to be taken by the king. It is clear to me, that there is neither power nor affection strong enough in any of his own subjects (at least both cannot be found in any) excluding the rebels party, to raise his cause to a possibility of being disputed; it must follow, that foreign assistance must be sought, or else the cause for the present deserted and the rebels left at rest; from which it may be expected emulations and ambitions will arise, from thence divisions, and out of them an occasion of setting the interest of the crown on foot again. This I take to be a remote, lazy speculation, and very near lying in the dirt, and crying God help. God often blesses very improbable endeavours, but I find not where he promises, or when he hath given success to flat idleness, unless contempt or misery, which are the proper fruits of it, may be so called. I am therefore clear, that foreign help is immediately, and thus, to be sought. All the princes and states of christendom are at this instant full of their own projects, either to enlarge or preserve their dominions; and I cannot think of any one that is in plenty. To make application to them by several ministers, will be certainly tedious and

one thousand six hundred and fifty one.

fruitless: and if it were possible for the king to find means to send so many (as I see not whence he will have it), they will be look'd upon as so many beggars sent for gatherings; and at the last, as such, will be sent away with pitiful alms, which will be consumed in the voyages. Therefore to come shortly to what I would be at, wherein you may be concerned, I conceive some one must be found that hath power, if not with all, yet with most christian princes and states. Among the protestants there is none such; and amongst Roman-catholicks, it is visible the pope has most of authority and persuasion; and it shall be without scruple my advice, and that speedily, that fitting letters may be sent, and apt inducements proposed to him for his interposition, not only with all princes and states[a]."——It is pity we had not the whole of this curious letter. But from this part of it, it is very evident how desperate the young king's affairs appeared, at this time, in the eyes of the most knowing of his party. We may learn also the honesty of men of Ormonde's character. They stick at nothing in order to bring about their designs. Apt inducements were to be proposed to the pope for his interposition with princes and states in his majesty's behalf. What inducements could these be but the admission of his authority in religious, at least, if not in civil matters, and receiving his laws? Or what apt inducement could catholic princes have to assist in the restoration of the king, but promises of dismembering the British dominions, paying tribute, or acting in the nature of a viceroy to him, or them, who furnished the means of

[a] Ormonde's Papers, vol. I. p. 458.

Many prisoners were taken on this occa-

conquering the three kingdoms? And what must have followed?—Every man of common sense can tell. Yet popery, despotism, vassalage, poverty, and every woe the human imagination can frame, were to be preferred to the exile of a prince who had just shewn himself a mean hypocrite! Such sentiments have dishonest statesmen. But, in fact, it is not their masters these men mind, but themselves. Their own restoration was the object of the wishes of the banished counsellors of this prince; and to obtain this, no sacrifice would have been thought too dear. They, by their conduct, had shewn themselves, for the most part, unfit for a land of freedom; and were willing their fellow-subjects should be reduced to slaves. How contemptible must they have appeared! But to go on.—A commonwealth writer, after speaking of the advantages that had been gained from time to time by the parliament, says, "Add to these (omitting many others) the late memorable defeat at Worcester, attended with a series of many other wondrous successes: and it is so much the more observable, in regard of that miraculous power of God upon the hearts of the people, fastening them to the government, in a most notable time of tryal, to the shameful confutation of this shameless resident [Macdonnel, resident at the Hague for the Scots king] who had the impudence to affirm, that not the hundredth part, or (as he saith a little after) not the thousandth part of the people, but do cordially adhere to the royal interest, and passionately groan to be delivered from the prevailing party in England, as he is pleased to call the parliament: whereas all the time of the Scots king being among us (which was about 28 days) courting and wooing the people with all manner of insinua-

sion, who had no reason, a few excepted, to complain of their treatment from the

tions, intreaties and pretences, he was not owned by any considerable number of his old friends, or his new-reconciled enemies of the presbyterian party.——'Tis true, England hath received many a sudden change, but never such a change as now. Heretofore, the poor people toil'd themselves, in shifting one tyrant out of the saddle to set up another; but now they have driven out, not only the tyrant, but tyranny itself, and cashier'd not only a single king, but all kings for ever. It is an easy matter for particulars to supplant one another in government, because the interest stands deposited in a single hand; but when the whole frame of government is altered from what it was, and the interest of state lies diffused in the hands of the people, it is almost impossible to alter it again, without such a tract of time, as may produce new dispositions and opportunities for the effecting a new alteration. Besides, it is very rarely observ'd in the whole course of history, that ever kingly government was suddenly restored in any country, after it had been once cashier'd by the people[a]." How uncertain is the science of politics! Men reason, and judge, and determine concerning the possibility or impossibility of events, as if they knew the causes of them, or could determine their birth! How frequently are they mistaken, even in their most rational conjectures, in their most probable conclusions! And yet, how proud, how presumptuous are, for the most part, these sort of men?——There are general rules in this, as in most other sciences; but the

[a] Anglia Liberata, or the Rights of the People of England, p. 67. 4to. Lond. 1651.

conquerors. But a price was set on the head of the king of Scots[17]; for whom the

application of them to particular cases, is hazardous and insecure oftentimes.—Charles depended much on the English; and doubted not they would be glad to assist in shaking off their own yoke, and place him on the throne. The commonwealth-men judged, that people who had tasted the sweets of liberty, the benefit of equal laws, and were freed from the oppression of king and nobles, would never again, willingly, return to their old state. Charles, we see, was much mistaken on the present occasion; nor were the commonwealth-men less so with regard to his restoration, which was brought about with the concurrence of the majority of the nation.

One truth, however, is to be depended on; that the love and practice of virtue, will beget the love of liberty; and the love of liberty, magnanimity, which will render a nation superior to every enemy: and, on the contrary, that vice will dispose men to submit to the most infamous bondage; and render a people, in the long run, contemptible, spiritless, defenceless, and an easy prey to an invader.

[17] A price was set on the head of the king of Scots.] Charles, on his entering England, had been declared, by the parliament, a traitor, a rebel, and a public enemy to the commonwealth; and, on the 10th of September, the following proclamation was issued out, "for the discovery and apprehending Charles Stuart, and other traitors, his adherents and abettors.

"Whereas Charles Stuart, son to the late tyrant, with divers of the English and Scots nation, have lately, in a traiterous and hostile manner, with an

most diligent search was made. It was, however, fruitless. His majesty escaped; and, after a great variety of adventures,

army, invaded this nation, which, by the blessing of God upon the forces of this commonwealth, have been defeated, and many of the chief actors therein slain and taken prisoners; but the said Charles Stuart hath escaped: For the speedy apprehending of such a malicious and dangerous traitor, to the peace of this commonwealth, the parliament doth strictly charge and command all officers as well civil as military, and all other the good people of this nation, that they make diligent search and inquiry for the said Charles Stuart and his abettors and adherers in this invasion, and use their best endeavours for the discovery and arresting the bodies of them and every of them; and, being apprehended, to bring, or cause to be brought, forthwith, and without delay, in safe custody, before the parliament, or council of state, to be proceeded with and ordered as justice shall require. And if any person shall, knowingly, conceal the said Charles Stuart, or any of his abettors or adherents, or shall not reveal the places of their abode or being, if it be in their power so to do, the parliament doth declare, that they will hold them as partakers and abettors of their traiterous wicked practices and designs. And the parliament doth further publish and declare, that whosoever shall apprehend the person of the said Charles Stuart, and shall bring, or cause him to be brought, to the parliament, or council of state, shall have given and bestowed on him or them, as a reward for such service, the sum of one thousand pound. And all officers, civil and military, are required to be aiding and assist-

arrived and remained a considerable time in France in a very poor condition [18]. He had formerly, it is true, sent ambassadors

ing unto such person or persons therein [a]." Charles, however, was in luck: for though the people of the country, generally speaking, were against him, he eluded his pursuers, and got safe into France. The hazards, the dangers, the hardships he underwent, are pompously set out by Clarendon [b], which may be compared with the account preserved in Whitlock, by such as are willing to be acquainted with them. His panegyrist has interested Providence in his preservation at this time; and assures us, "that all may look upon the whole, as the inspiration and conduct of God Almighty, as a manifestation of his power and glory, and for the conviction of the whole party, which had sinned so grievously [c]." This language, in that party, would have been called cant, or enthusiasm.

[18] The king escaped and arrived in France in a very poor condition.] "The king of England," says the Cardinal de Retz, "who had newly lost the battle of Worcester, arrived at Paris the very same day [d] on which Don Gabriel de Toledo departed from it. My lord Taffe served him as lord chamberlain, valet de chambre, clerk of the kitchen, and cup-bearer. His equipage was answerable to his court, and he had not changed his shirt since he left England. My lord Jermin gave him one of his at his arrival. The queen his mother had not money enough to give him wherewithall to buy any for the next day. The duke of Orleans went to visit him as soon as he arrived, but it

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XX. p. 50. [b] Vol. VI. p. 413. Whitlock, p. 512. [c] Id. p. 428. [d] Oct. 16, 1651.

to several princes to crave aid and assist-

was not in my power to oblige him to offer the king his nephew a single penny, because, said he, a little is not worthy of him, and much would afterwards engage me in too great an expence[a]." And a little afterwards, he adds, "it was not in my power to oblige him to aid the king of England with a thousand pistoles. I was ashamed of it both upon his and my own account. I borrowed 1500—and I carried them to lord Taffe, for the king his master." The generosity of the great is many times truly admirable! They are unbounded in their expences to gratify their vices and follies; but the calls of humanity, and the ties of blood, are slighted and disregarded. Few men in the lower ranks of life would have treated an unfortunate nephew (for as unfortunate only, I presume, he could appear in the eye of his uncle) in so bad a manner. But to the great it is given to act, on occasion, meanly without diminution of character; and it is their privilege to do little things. The world however observes, remarks, comments, and treats them in a manner they are little aware of. For no characters are made more free with, by the independent part of society; though their flatterers would make them believe they are held by all in high estimation.—What was the condition of his majesty afterwards, we may learn from lord Clarendon. "The insupportable necessities of the king," says he, "were now grown so notorious, that the French court was compelled to take notice of them; and thereupon, with some dry compliments for the smallness of the assignation in respect of the ill condition of their affairs, which indeed were not in any good posture, they settled an assignation of six thou-

[a] Memoirs, vol. II. p. 119. 12mo. Lond. 1723.

ance; but, for the most part, they were

sand livres by the month upon the king, payable out of such a gabel; which being to begin six months after the king came thither, found too great a debt contracted to be easily satisfied out of such a monthly receipt, though it had been punctually complied with; which it never was. The queen, at his majesty's first arrival, had declared, that she was not able to bear the expence of the kings dyet, but that he must pay one half of the expence of her table, where both their majesties eat, with the duke of York, and the princess Henrietta (which two were at the queens charge, till the king came thither, but from that time the duke of York was upon the kings account), and the very first nights supper which the king eat with the queen, began the account; and a moiety thereof was charged to the king: so that the first money that was received for the king upon his grant, was entirely stopp'd by sir Harry Wood the queen's treasurer, for the discharge of his Majesty's part of the queen's table (which expence was first satisfied, as often as money could be procured) and the rest for the payment of other debts contracted at his first coming, for cloaths and other necessaries, there being great care taken that nothing should be left to be distributed amongst his servants; the marquis of Ormonde himself being compell'd to put himself in pension, with other gentlemen, at a pistole a week for his dyet, and to walk the streets on foot, which was no honourable custom in Paris; whilst the lord Jermyn kept an excellent table for those who courted him, and had a coach of his own, and all other accommodations incident to the most full fortune; and if the king had the most urgent occasion for the use of only twenty pistoles, as sometimes he had, he

coolly received:——and though some mo-

could not find credit to borrow it, which he had often experiment of[a]." Lord Ormonde, in a letter to the marquis of Clanricarde, dated, Louvre, March $\frac{17}{27}$, 1652, tells him, that "the plain truth why he could not send sir George Hamilton with a dispatch to him, is, that the king could never set aside from the literal necessity of his own subsistence what might bear his charges, nor yet can; which is a sad reason why a cheaper means of conveyance is at last found out[b]."—Charles uneasy, undoubtedly, under such circumstances, made his court to Mazarine, and, according to Voltaire, demanded one of his nieces in marriage: "but the bad state of his affairs, which compell'd this prince," says he, "to such a behaviour, also drew upon him a refusal; and the cardinal has even been suspected of a design to get the neice, which he refused to the king of England, married to the son of Cromwell. It is at least certain, that when Mazarine afterwards perceived it became less difficult for Charles II. to regain his crown, he renewed the proposal of marriage, and was refused in his turn[c]." It had been well if M. Voltaire had told us to what son of Cromwell, Mazarine intended to have matched this niece. He should have known that both his sons were married at the time he is talking of.—Truth is many times wanting in this gentleman's writings. That there was some treaty proposed on the part of the king is probable enough from the following passage in a letter of intelligence, dated, Cologne, June 19, 1655, N. S. preserved in Thurloe. "There has been lately from France (as I am told by a good author) one Monsieur Fonta-

[a] Vol. VI. p. 441. [b] Ormonde's Papers, vol. II. p. 461.
[c] Age of Lewis XIV. vol. I. p. 73. 12mo. Lond. 1753.

ney was got, he himself, if we believe lord

nelles, sent very secretly by Mazarine to consult with R. C. and take it from me, at present they have some treaty in hand; my authors assure me of it, and that the principal part is for R. C. to marry one of the cardinals neices. Some more of this matter you may shortly hear by some other way. It is no new matter, for it was contrived in Paris before the late rising in England betwixt R. C. and Mazarine; but the little queen [Henrietta Maria] gave interruption to it. Now it is freshly retreated[a]." This probably was a trick of Mazarine's, in order to have an opportunity of attaining a full knowledge of the affairs of the exiled prince, whereby to regulate his conduct with regard to the protector. He who before the treaty with that able politician had refused an alliance with the house of Stuart, doubtless would not in earnest solicit it, when he could not safely afford it an asylum in France, though so nearly related to his master.——The man, indeed, was ambitious of matching his family into the most noble houses; nor did he think any too high to hope for a conjunction with: but he was at the same time timid, selfish, jealous, and consequently, incapable of risking the displeasure of Cromwell, which such a marriage would necessarily have produced.

On the dissolution of the parliament of the commonwealth of England by their own servant, the general of their armies, and his assumption of the supreme power, great court was made to him by the principal powers in Europe. France and Spain were rivals for his favour. The first, however, had the preference; but it was, among other things, on condition of sending the king, and his brother the duke of York, out of that

[a] Vol. III. p. 533.

Clarendon, was very little the better for it

kingdom. This was submitted to by Mazarine, though he knew well enough it would subject him to much reproach from his adversaries.——Charles therefore was obliged to prepare for his journey; and after receiving two and forty thousand livres from the cardinal for his expences, and the promise of the continuation of his pension, went into Germany[a]." This was in July, 1654.——The reception he had before met with in France, doubtless prepared him for every neglect, and every hardship from thence.

[19] He sent ambassadors, who were but ill received, &c.] Let us hear Bate. "Dum ea Londini geruntur, non indormiebat suæ causæ Carolus secundus neque grassantibus per Angliam parricidis sibi defuit, sed omnem volvit lapidem, nihilque pro humanis viribus & ingenio reliquit intentatum, quò res collapsas repararet, publicam libertatem assereret, simul ac, expiato parricidio, hereditatem suam avitam assequeretur. Principum ac regum exterorum invocatur fides; quibus æque singulis incumbit, pro vicaria supremi numinis authoritate, communique officio, asylum oppressis patefacere; sed & regibus patrocinari præ cæteris mortalium, tum contagionis metu, nè scilicet in proprios ipsorum subditos horrendum serperet rebellionis exemplar; ut & ipsi pares in angustias fortè conjecti, pares vicissim suppetias reportarent.

"Ad Germaniæ imperatorem, nec minùs principes, ad Ottomanicum, & Moscoviæ magnum ducem, Poloniæ, Daniæ, Succiæque reges, ad Venetorum rempublicam, Belgarumque fœderatos ordines legati de-

[a] Thurloe, vol. II. p. 399.

France and Spain now paid the most servile court to Cromwell, who had assumed

cernuntur. In Hispaniam (unde præcipua spes affulgebat) dominus Edwardus Hide (qui scaccariæ olim, jam cancellariæ publicæ præest, & comitis Clarendonii titulo illustris, gravissimis regni negotiis sub rege cum omnium laude & admiratione perfungitur) cujus juvenili & vivido senile illud Cottingtoni ingenium animari poterat. Inter Gallos, præter legatum peculiarem, reginam matrem, ducemque Eboracensem, sui rex ipse negotii procurator. Sed proh dolor! Irrito ferè ubique successu; quorundam suppetias nimiâ locorum intercapedine præpediente; aliorum sive rei familiaris angustiis, sive seditione domestica, seu denique a vicinis periculo. Neminem pertingebat alienæ calamitatis aut sensus aut miseratio. Barbare se gessit aula Ottomanica, utpote quæ sordido exigui æris lucello corrupta, proxenetarum pseudo-senatûs in manus tradidit legatum Henricum Hide, meritis ornatissimum; qui in Angliam delatus, ob fidem intemeratam, nullo legis avitæ obtentu, coram peristylio regio Londini decollatur. Gallia pollicitationibus prædives, ingentium suppetiarum spe vanâ lactat, quamdiu opis aliquid à regis Angliæ subditis emungi potuit; præsertim à Jacobo duce Eboracense, qui Anglos & Hibernos Gallorum sub vexillis in Flandria ducens, complura & nobilissima edidit virtutis specimina: donec Dunkirkæ (quam obsessum tenebant Hispani) sublevandæ gratiâ classem Gallicam sub Vendomii duce Blakius in fugam conjecerat: Dein Burdexium de pacis conditionibus ineundis Londinum amandârunt, dum parricidæ fœciale bellum indicturum expectârent; iteroque post fœdere inito, in sinu gaudebant regiam

to himself the protectorate, in order to gain

delusam majestatem, & rebellium furori haud exiguam adjectum sufflamen.

" Hispanus indoluisse regicidio videbatur; sed Angliæ de controversiis non esse suum causatus intra oleas determinare, nec extra ditiones proprias volupe sibi erat alienis immisceri negôtiis; cæterùm suis in regionibus regi quicquid exhiberi benevolentiæ poterat præsto foret.

" Tamen non ità multò pòst occiso Aschamo (quod brevi dicturus sum) primus hic regum orientem reipublicæ solem venerari jubet umbratilem legatum Don Alonso de Cardenas, parricidis omnia fausta precari, sartam tectam regna inter sua novámque rempublicam fidem servandam impetrare; & in Aschami nefarios occisores ipsum severè animadversurum pollicetur.

" Portugalliæ rex generosam prodit mentem (de quo infrà) si vires animo respondissent. At enim quid faciat nuperrimus imperii proprii vindex, & in trepido solio vixdum bene collocatus? Certè ipsi vel integro & florenti res arctior quàm quæ tanti belli molem sustineat; nedum id temporis regem manu reducat, quo hinc Hispanum, aras et focos acerrime impugnantem, finibus patriis vix ægrè prohibeat; indè Belgam, extremo Oriente & universo qui terrarum orbem claudit oceano, sentiat infestum.

" Sueca primùm benevola, sed quæ tandem cum rebus mutavit animum. Fred. dux' Holsatiæ & militem & pecunias in regis gratiam, naves insuper armaque commodavit Montis-rosani comiti in Scotiam navigaturo. Dania, exhausto regii patris causà ærario, novisque mox bellis implicanda, nil ultra potuit. Poloniæ regi, quò minùs elargiretur de proprio, Cosaki rebelles, &, quæ pacem infidam reddiderant, cir-

his friendship. The former obtained it, on

cumvicinæ gentes obstiterunt. Scotici tamen subditi, ejus accolæ regionum, jussi ferunt auxilia. Muscoviæ item imperator, Dux Brandeburgensis, Moguntiæ Archiepiscopus, aliique Germaniæ principes, animos in regem sat pronos attestantur. Sed heu! Quid ista ad classem adornandam? Quid ad exercitum conscribendum? Quid ad arma, commeatum, impedimenta comparanda? Paulò plus forsan quàm ut legatorum in expensas & viaticum sufficerent, aulicorum etiam pauperiem parumper sublevarent[a]." i. e. Whilst these things are transacting at London, Charles II. was not asleep, nor did he neglect his affairs, though the parricides prevailed in England; but moves every stone, and leaves nothing untried, for settling affairs; asserting public liberty, and the parricide expiated, recovering the inheritance of his ancestors. He implores the protection of foreign kings and princes, who are all equally concerned, in virtue of the authority they derive from God, and their common duty to give sanctuary to the oppressed: but especially to kings, as well on account of kindred, as of fear of contagion, lest the horrid example of rebellion should spread itself among their own subjects, and that they themselves, in like circumstances, might get like assistance.

He sends ambassadors to the emperor, and the princes of the empire; to the Othman Sultan, to the Grand Duke of Muscovy; to the kings of Poland, Denmark, and Sweden; to the republics of Venice and Holland. Sir Edward Hyde and lord Cottington were dispatched into Spain, in expectation of obtaining considerable aid. In France, besides an ambas-

[a] Flenchi Motuum, pars secunda, p. 61—63. 8vo. Lond 1663.

condition, among other things, of sending

sador, the queen mother, the duke of York, and the king himself, solicited his affairs. But, alas! almost every where without success: the distance of place hindering the aid of some; and either the want of money, domestic quarrels, or foreign dangers, obstructing the assistance of others. None felt or commiserated others calamities. The Othman court barbarously, for a little money, delivered up the ambassador, Henry Hyde, an accomplished gentleman, into the hands of the pretended parliament; who, being brought over to England, for his unblemished loyalty, without any pretence of ancient law, was beheaded before the Royal Exchange, in London.

France, abounding in promises, deceived with false hopes of large supplies, so long as they could procure any assistance from the subjects of the king of England; especially from the duke of York, who, commanding the English and the Irish that served the French in Flanders, had given many illustrious proofs of his valour; until Blake had beaten the French under the command of the duke of Vendosme, who came to the relief of Dunkirk, then besieged by the Spaniards. Then they sent Bordeaux to treat of peace at London, whilst the parricides expected no less than a declaration of war: and afterwards, having entered into a strict alliance, they inwardly rejoiced that the king was deluded, and no small stop put to the fury of the rebels.—Spain seemed sorry for the murder of the king; but declined giving his judgment about things done out of his own dominions, though he was ready to shew his majesty all kindness. However, not long after, Aschain being assassinated, he was the first king that commanded his ambassador, Don Alonso de Car-

the king of Scots, and his brother the duke

denas, to worship the rising sun of the commonwealth; wish the parricides all happiness: intreat the continuance of friendship between his kingdoms and the new commonwealth; and promised severely to punish the murderers of Ascham.—Portugal was very generous; but his power ill suited with his inclinations. Indeed, what could a prince, scarce steady on a late recovered throne, do? Had he been in full and undisturbed possession of his dominions, he could not engage in a war on the king's behalf; much less at this time, when he could hardly resist the attacks of the Spaniards at home, or of the Dutch in the East Indies and on the ocean.—Sweden, at first kind, changed with affairs. The duke of Holstein supplied Montrose, for his expedition into Scotland, with men, money, ships, and arms, for the service of the king. Denmark, drained of money in supporting his majesty's father, and being engaged in a new war, could do no more. The Cossacks, and neighbouring nations, who had rendered the peace uncertain, made the king of Poland sparing of his assistance: but the Scottish subjects, inhabitants of that country, as they were commanded, afforded aid. The czar, the electors of Brandenburgh and Mentz, with other German princes, shewed themselves affectionate to the king. But, alas! what was all that to the equipping of a fleet? to the raising of an army? to the providing of arms, provisions, carriages? Perhaps a little more than might defray the charges of ambassadors, and relieve the poverty of courtiers.

Bate was right in his sentiment. "For," says Clarendon, "when the king went to Jersey in order to his journey into Ireland, and at the same time that he

of York, out of that kingdom. His ma-

sent the chancellor of the exchequer into Spain, he sent the lord Colepepper into Mosco, to borrow money of that duke: and into Poland he sent Mr. Crofts upon the same errand. The former return'd whilst the king was in Scotland; and the latter about the time that his majesty made his escape from Worcester. And both of them succeeded so well in their journey, that he who received least for his majesty's service, had above ten thousand pounds over and above the expence of their journeys. But, as if the king had been out of all possible danger to want money, the lord Jermyn had sent an express into Scotland, as soon as he knew what success the lord Colepepper had at Mosco, and found there were no less hopes from Mr. Crofts, and procured from the king (who could with more ease grant than deny) warrants under his hand to both those envoys, to pay the monies they had received to several persons; whereof a considerable sum was made a present to the queen, more to the lord Jermyn, upon pretence of debts due to him, which were not diminished by that receipt; and all dispos'd of according to the modesty of the askers; whereof Dr. Goff had eight hundred pounds for services he had performed, and, within few days after the receipt of it, changed his religion, and became one of the fathers of the oratory: so that, when the king return'd in all that distress to Paris, he never received five hundred pistoles from the proceed of both these embassies; nor did any of those who were supplied by his bounty seem sensible of the obligation, or the more disposed to do him service upon their own expence; of which the king was sensible enough, but resolv'd to bear that and more, rather than, by entring into any expos-

jesty hereupon, by the mediation of the duke of Neuburg, applied to the king of

tulation with those who were faulty, to give any trouble to the queen[a]."—It is very probable, that Charles's courtiers were willing, as that class of men always are, to take care of themselves: but lord Clarendon's reflections on the persons who received the money gotten by these envoys, are far enough from being just. We know lord Wentworth, eldest son to the earl of Cleveland, had an order from the king for five hundred pounds out of the money brought by Mr. Crofts from Poland; but his lordship was at this very time marching with the king towards Worcester, and had, probably, occasion enough for it[b]. As to lord Jermyn, whatever were his circumstances, his situation, or connexions; how liberally soever he supplied himself from the king's orders or the queen's bounty: certain it is, that Charles, his master, was much obliged to him. He received his majesty's pension from the court of France; and remitted to Cologne, from thence, at one time, the sum of two millions of rixdollars[c]. He kept up a pretty regular correspondence with him: informed him of things necessary for him to know; and gave him salutary advice. But as this was many times opposite to the sentiments and views of the chancellor of the exchequer; he, according to his manner, never has a good word for him.—If we may believe a certain writer, Dr. Goff's share of Croft's money, was seven hundred and fifty pistoles only[d].—Lord Clarendon is seldom exact.

[a] Vol. VI. p. 442. [b] See Parliamentary History, vol. XX. p. 4.
[c] Thurloe's Papers, vol. I. p. 690. [d] Legenda Lignea, p. 150. 12mo. Lond. 1653.

Spain[20], who conferred on him a pension

[20] He applied himself to Spain, who conferred on him a pension.] Charles left Paris in June, 1654; and passing through Flanders, unnoticed by the archduke, arrived at the Spaw in Germany. At length he settled at Cologne; where, understanding that Cromwell had broke with Spain, a memoir was presented, by the marquis of Ormonde, to the duke of Neuburg, June 15, 1655, in order to engage him to use his interest with his catholic majesty to enter into an alliance with the Scottish king. In this memoir it was represented "that it will not be hard to make it appear, that as the assistance which the king of Spain can easily give to the king of Great Britain may be very available to him towards his restoration; so that it will be in his majesty's present power (how low soever his condition appears to be) to contribute more towards the defeating Cromwell's attempts in the Indies, and towards the assistance of his catholic majesty against his other enemies, than in any other princes of Christendom."—How extraordinary soever this might seem, it was attempted to be proved in the following manner: "Let the present success of the English fleet be what it will in the West Indies, if Cromwell be not able to send constant and full supplies thither, the design must come to nothing, how prosperous soever the first entrance upon it chance to be: and if the king of Spain will give that assistance and countenance to his majesty, as will be very agreeable to the carrying on of his own affairs, his majesty will be able to give Cromwell too much to do in the three kingdoms, to leave him at liberty to attend those remote expeditions. Besides the power the king hath in the navy and amongst the seamen, and in this particular fleet under

very inadequate to his necessities, and the

Penn, where (besides the common soldiers and mariners) there are many principal officers who have served his majesty, and whose affections will dispose them to receive any orders from the king: all which will appear as soon as his majesty hath the liberty of ports, to encourage the resort of ships and seamen to his service: which whensoever he shall have, Cromwell will hardly venture the setting out any great fleets, well knowing how ill affected the seamen are to him. The advantage which his catholic majesty may receive by a conjunction with the king of Great Britain, is not small with reference to the carrying on the war in Flanders, where he is likely to be most pressed, by confirming and disposing the Irish, who are already in his pay, heartily to his service, of whom there is at present so great a jealousy, that he is almost without the benefit of that body; and by drawing off all the regiments of that nation, which at present serve the French, and do not amount to less in number in Catalonia, Italy, and France, than ten thousand men, whereof there will not remain a considerable number when they shall once know that their king is but invited to make his residence in Flanders, and hath the friendship of that king; and of what moment the falling away of such a strength may be to the disappointing all the designs of this campania, is easy to foresee; and as easy, when the winter shall draw on, to transport those of his majesty's own subjects into England and Ireland, where they will meet with such conjunction from his majesty's faithful subjects, as will keep Cromwell from molesting and disquieting his neighbours.—The reputation of this friendship between these two great kings, and the probability

necessities of those about him. Promises that the king of England will be thereby speedily restored to the entire possession of his kingdoms and dominions (which all men will believe, who do understand the temper of the several people thereof, and the detestation they have jointly of the present tyranny) will keep the Dutch to a strict observation of their treaty with his catholic majesty, and from joining with his enemies upon the disadvantage his affairs may seem to stand in, and will dispose even France itself to a desire of peace upon moderate conditions, when they shall both consider what a friend his catholic majesty will be sure always to have of the king of England to punish any insolence that shall be now offered to him[a]." Whatever strength there was in this memorial, it produced Charles and the duke of York a pension of only nine thousand pounds sterling per annum[b]; which being but badly paid, they must have been but in a poor condition. The following copy of a note of hand of his majesty to John Fotherly, Esq. of the Bury, Rickmersworth, in the county of Hertford, will give the reader some idea of the straits he was reduced to in Flanders.

"I doe acknowledge to have receaved the summe of one hundred pounds sterling, which I doe promis to repay as soon as I am able. Bruges.

"21 Decem. 1657. CHARLES R[c]."

We are to remember, that Charles's pension from France was now at an end. The protection and pro-

[a] Orlonde's Papers, vol. II. p. 53. [b] Bate, pars secunda, p. 123.
[c] In the possession of Henry Fotherly Whitfield, Esq.

were moreover added of powerful assistance

mises of Spain gave the king spirits however, and made him talk much of what he would do. "Charles Stuart," says Thurloe, in a letter to Montague, dated March 25, 1656, "is come into Flanders, and speaks much of the prizes he will take wherewith to maintain war against us[a]." In another letter to the same, dated Ap. 28, 1656, he tells him, "the pretended king is at Bruges, and hath been treating with the archduke: something he hath obtained, as liberty of their ports to exercise his piracy in, and a promise to be supplied with men and money to begin an invasion with. He on his part puts himself and his cause into the hands of the king of Spain to be managed by him, and hath declared himself in private to them to be a Roman catholick, as they call it. But the full conclusion of their treaty is deferred until the arrival of Don John, who will be there in a few days, if he be not already come."—Don John, natural son to the king of Spain, accordingly arrived, and Charles made a farther treaty with him, whereby he engaged to call all his subjects out of the French or any other service, and to draw them together under his own command in Flanders, for the assistance of Spain. "Upon this treaty," says Mr. Carte, "his majesty was presently paid 300 crowns a month, a great supply to a prince who had not in a whole year before received 2000*l.* from all his friends in England[b]."—"But the Spaniards wanted money," the same writer tells us; "and the payments he was to receive from them were not so duly made as his own necessities and those of his servants required. The

[a] Ormonde's Papers, vol. II. p. 97. [b] Life of Ormonde, vol. II. p. 172. fol. Lond. 1736.

towards the recovery of his dominions; and his party little doubted, any more than

marquis of Ormonde passed most of the winter at Brussels, solliciting this and other particulars of his majesty's affairs, being himself streightned, as many gentlemen who followed the kings fortune were utterly at a loss for subsistence. One of these, a Scotch knight of the name of Maxwell, lodged in the house of a burgher of the town, who, being zealously affected to the king's cause, gave him his lodging and diet *gratis*. This seasonable hospitality and kindness in his distress could not on all occasions keep down the Scots gentlemans passions: he quarrelled with his honest landlord, and swore he would never eat with him more. He kept his word for a whole day, fasting all that time; but it not agreeing over well with his constitution, he consulted with his friend the marquis of Ormonde what he should do. Really, said the marquis with great gravity, all the advice I can give in your case is, to go to your lodging; first eat your words, and then your supper[a]." And that the circumstances of the English in Flanders were really very bad, is apparent from a letter of the duke of York to the king his brother, dated Coukerk, Sept. 27, in which he says, "I presse Don John every day for something for the English that are come over, but can gett nothing yett but promises of monys for them, which shall not want solliciting till I gett it[b]."—— Hyde also, in a letter to Ormonde, dated Brussels, Oct. 25, 1659, writes as follows. "Of the ease and plenty we are in, I need say little to you, when I tell

[a] Life of Ormonde, vol. II. p. 174. fol. Lond. 1736. [b] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 668.

himself, of receiving considerable succours from a power whose interest it was to dis-

you that we have not yet received a dollar since you went; which I hope you will cause to be pressed; and I pray remember your own particular; for your debts here make a great noise[a]."——On the eighth of November following, he repeats the complaint. "I am sure," says he, "we are all without a dollar, and have been long: and they who have neither money nor credit are like to keep a very cold Christmas; which must be our case, if we do not hear from you before that time[b]." The distress still continued. On the sixth of December, therefore, he desired Ormonde, that "if there was any money which might without noise be disposed, he would remember him, that he might pay those debts, and repair what is worn out: besides, I must tell you," adds he, "my wife is ready to lie in, and all things wanting[c]." In what an unhappy case is an exiled prince! how many are his disappointments; how various his troubles! Yet the example of some does not deter others from risking a like fate. Seldom are princes excluded from their dominions, but for real faults: but the lust of power makes them overlook their danger; and they do not know themselves, till they suffer. Charles was an exile, indeed, more through his father's crimes than his own: but tyranny was its foundation, and poverty and neglect the consequence. A prince excluded by the people, for whose good and benefit alone all rules are constituted, must and ought to submit to his lot. But very amazing is it that any should chuse to be partakers of his fate. This, we know, however, does

[a] Ormonde's Papers, vol. II. p. 240. [b] Id. p. 259. [c] Id. p. 289.

tress the protector; but the Spaniards had so poor an opinion of his interest in England, that they could never be induced, in reality, to hazard any thing in his favour[21].

many times happen. Such is the force of instilled false principles, party attachments, or prejudices, consciousness of guilt, or a false sense of honour! Many of Charles's followers, it is true, could not with safety appear in England. They had been proscribed by the rulers there, for crimes real or supposed; and they had nothing to hope for, but from the restoration of their master. Others there were who might easily have remained in or returned to their native land, who chose to struggle with every difficulty, rather than submit to a power deemed by them usurped. As if it was of consequence who governed, if the public was taken care of, and liberty and property were secured! Strange madness and infatuation this!

[21] Promises were given of powerful assistance,—but the Spaniards would risk nothing in his favour.] Thurloe, after writing that the full conclusion of the treaty was deferred till the coming of Don John, adds, "In the mean time Charles Stuart on his part hath assured his friends here of great supplies and advantages by his conjunction with the Spaniards, and begs money of them for his support but for two months, and then he shall be able to answer their expectation and pursue his and their interest; he having, besides his own party, fully agreed with the levellers, who are also to fight under the flag of Spain, from whom they have got a great sum of money to raise forces here, a good part whereof is fallen through the goodness of God into our hands, so that I speak not at guess in this

We are not to wonder, then, that all attempts made by his friends at home were ineffectual to his restoration. Many schemes, it must be acknowledged, were

business. The person whom they had made their treasurer here, and in whose hands we found the money, is a seaman and a great confident of Lawson's, and those who deserted their commands; and it is certain, that this money was given by the Spaniard upon this undertaking of Sexby, that the fleet with you should not revolt before they went from Portsmouth[a]." In another letter to Montague, dated Aug. 28, 1656, he says, "I should have told you before of the great amity which is contracted between the king of Spain and Charles Stuart. Charles hath put himself into his hands, and is obliged in his endeavours for his restitution to be wholly guided by the king of Spain. Charles is now raising some regiments in Flanders, of the runnagade Irish, English, and Scotch to invade us with; and they say we are to expect him before December[b]."—— The hopes of an invasion from Spain roused the king's friends, who talked, and planned, and prepared to join with his majesty on his landing. But they were quite disappointed. For Don Alonso de Cardanas, who had resided long in England, and was deemed to be well acquainted with its affairs, had infused such an opinion of the weakness of Charles's party there, that the Spaniards had no heart to make any push in his favour. Cromwell, we see, had a perfect knowledge of what was transacting in Flanders: and to know the designs of an enemy, is almost the same as to prevent

[a] Ormonde's Papers, vol. II. p. 103. [b] Id. p. 113.

laid, many plots and conspiracies formed by them; but they were all detected [22],

them. Accordingly it happened that, amidst the highest expectations of the royal party, the chief leaders of them were seized; and Slingsby and Hewet, with others, executed. Sexby died in prison. He was a man of sense and learning; and author of, Killing no Murder: though Lord Clarendon represents him as an illiterate person [a].——The Spaniards thought themselves well paid for Charles's pension, I doubt not, by alarming Cromwell with invasions from abroad, and insurrections at home. It answered an end to them. But how far men of humanity, as I would willingly suppose there may be some of that character amongst statesmen, can answer to themselves, for giving hopes they know to be in vain, and prospects illusory, to the ruin of well-meaning, zealous, ignorant party-men, is beyond my comprehension.

[22] Many plots and conspiracies were formed, in order to bring about his restoration; but they were all detected.] The friends of the Stuarts, and the enemies of Cromwell, united in their endeavours to place Charles on the throne. For this end, monies were advanced, places appointed, arms prepared. Some, who had served in the royal army, came from abroad, and were joined by the conspirators at home, who, by untimely risings, or ill-concerted measures, brought destruction to the cause they intended to advance. Nor was this all. They entered into schemes of assassinations; and cared not by what methods they accomplished their ends. Ascham and Dorislaus,

[a] See vol. III. note 20. See Clarendon, vol. VI. p. 640.

through the vigilance of his enemies, or the treachery of those about him. So that

agents for the commonwealth abroad, felt the effects of their fury; and it was not owing to a want of will that Cromwell escaped it[a]. The protector publicly charged "Charles Stuart, Ormonde, and Hide with consulting and advising the assassinating him[b]." This was a high charge; but at the same time it possibly was a true one, as the reader will be inclined to judge from the following proclamation, dated, Paris, May 3d, 1654, N. S.——"Charles the Second, by the grace of God, &c.——Whereas it is apparent to all rational and unbiassed men throughout the world, that a certain mechanic fellow, by name Oliver Cromwell, hath, by most wicked and accursed ways and means, against all laws both divine and human (taking opportunity through the late sad and unnatural wars in our kingdoms), most tyrannically and traiterously usurped the supream power over our said kingdoms, to the enslaving and ruining the persons and estates of the good people our free subjects therein, after he had most inhumanly and barbarously butchered our dear father, of sacred memory, his just and lawful sovereign: these are therefore in our name to give free leave and liberty to any man whomsoever, within any of our three kingdoms, by pistol, sword, or poison, or by any other way or means whatsoever, to destroy the life of the said Oliver Cromwell; wherein they will do an act acceptable to God and good men, by cutting so detestable a villain from the face of the earth: and whosoever, whether soldier or other, shall be instru-

[a] See a True Account of the late bloody and inhuman Conspiracy against his Highness. 4to. Lond. 1654. [b] Id. p. 11.

the government of England, at least till

mental in so signal a piece of service, both to God, to his king, and to his country, we do by these presents, and in the word and faith of a Christian king, promise, as a reward for his good service, to give to him and his heirs for ever 500*l.* per annum, free land, or the full sum in money, for which such a proportion may be purchased of the owners, and also the honour of knighthood to him and his heirs: and if he shall be a soldier of the army, we do also promise to give him a colonel's place, and such honourable employment, wherein he may be capable of attaining to farther preferment answerable to his merit. And because we know, that great numbers are involved in the same guilt with the said Oliver, more through his crafty ensnaring devices, than their own malicious or wilful inclinations; we do therefore freely pardon and forgive all and every man whatsoever, for all and every thing by them done and committed against our person, crown, and dignity, or whatsoever hath been by them done or committed in the prosecution of the late wars, provided that they or any of them so guilty shall, within six days after their certain notice of Cromwell's death, renounce and forsake their rebellious courses, and submit themselves to our mercy and clemency; and also whosoever shall before that time, upon a just and fair opportunity, leave partaking with those wicked men, and declare for the just rights and priviledges of us and our people, his king and country, shall not only be pardoned for whatsoever is past, but receive a signal reward, and shall be by us employed and trusted with command answerable to his quality; excepting only from this our pardon, William Lenthall, late speaker of the house of commons, and John Bradshaw

the death of Cromwell, which happened

president of that bloody court, commonly called the High Court of Justice, and Sir Arthur Hazelrigge, and no other; but all men else to enjoy the full benefit of this our free pardon, in case they perform the conditions above required[a]."——The same thing appears also highly probable from a letter of the duke of York to the king, dated Paris, May 14, 1655, and decyphered with the king's own hand. "There is a proposition," says he, "that has been made to me, which is too long to put in a letter; so that I will, as short as I can, lett you know the heads of them. There are fower Roman-catholics, that have bound themselves in a solemn oath to kill Cromwell, and then to raise all the catholicks in the city and the army, which they pretend to be a number so considerable, as may give a rise for your recovery, they being all warn'd to be ready for something that is to be done, without knowing what it is. They demand ten thousand livres in hand; and when the business is ended, some recompence for themselves, according to their respective qualitys, and the same liberty for catholicks in England as the protestants have in France. I thought not fit to reject this proposition, but to acquaint you with it, becaus the first part of the desine seems to me to be better lay'd and resolved on, than any I have knowen of that kind; and for the defects of the second it may be supplied by some desires you may have to join to it. If you approve of it, one of the fower, intrusted by the rest, will repair to you, his charges being borne, and give you a full account of the whole. In the mean time, he desires, in his own

[a] Thurloe, vol. II. p. 248.

in September, one thousand six hundred

name and theirs, that you would lett but one or two, whom you most trust, know it, and enjoyne them secresy[a]." It seems reasonable, I think, to conclude from this letter and proclamation, that the royal brothers were no strangers to assassination schemes, no disapprovers of them, and, consequently, that it was a vain thing for them or their adherents to complain that they were beset with spies, who gave notice of their designs, and rendered them abortive. For self-defence is undoubtedly allowable to princes, as well as private persons; and the encouraging of spies is, at least, as defensible as employing cut-throats.—— Those who are willing to know the particulars of the conspiracies formed in behalf of Charles, may consult the common historians, and the State Trials. I have said in the text, that they were all detected through the vigilance of his enemies, or the treachery of those about him. Charles's court, as we have seen, was made up of necessitous persons; and among such, it is at no time difficult to find those who are ready to receive a bribe.——"The council of state in England," says Whitlock, "had good intelligence of all the transactions of the prince and of his council, which they procured by their money; whereof some of the princes servants were needy, and would betray their master for it[b]."—Sir Edward Nicholas, in a letter to the marquis of Ormonde, dated Hague, Aug. 15, 1651, N. S. writes as follows. "By the enclosed extract out of the Mercurius Politicus sent me from Paris, your lordship may see with what prudence and secrecy the king's business is by the great statesmen of the Louvre managed.

[a] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 666. [b] Memorials, p. 430.

fifty-eight, held him in contempt, and had

I wish that was the only sad instance of the unskilful management and counsels there.—I have lately received a letter from very good hands from England, that a town and castle of importance shall be seized for the king, if they who give the intelligence may have order for it from the king or duke of York; but they will not have any at the Louvre know of it: and truly considering what speedy intelligence is given from Paris of all affairs of the kings which are transacted at the Louvre, even in the Mercurius in England, I cannot blame those who will not confide in any there, nor shall I ever be an instrument to bring any honest man in danger of communicating affairs with such futile persons [a]."

In another letter to the same, dated May 30, 1651, N. S. he says, "I have herein sent your excellency a list of some lords and gentlemen that are imprisoned or under restraint and trouble, upon Mr. Cokes treacherous discovery. I am now told, that he being a notorious presbyterian, and by them entrusted and employed from England (whereof I remember intimation was sent thence by honest men when the king was at Jersey, but nothing would be then credited against any prudent person of that faction), was by his majesty at Breda, by the counsel of the duke of Hamilton, and others of the Louvre creatures, made acquainted with the designs and persons of his majesty's own party also; some of whom had him so suspected (as namely the lord Beauchamp), as they forbore a long time to communicate any thing with him; insomuch that he wrote to Mr. Long a letter complaining that that lord

[a] Ormonde's Papers, vol. I. p. 418.

was very slow and backward in the kings business in England; which letter Mr. Long tells me he shewed in Scotland to the king. And yet afterwards by others importunity in England who had received great commendations of him from some credulous people of the kings party there, it seems his lordship acquainted him with so much as it is like to cost him his life: and if your excellency observe the inclosed list, you will see there are therein very few presbyterians among those that Coke hath discovered: for the presbyterians in Lancashire were discovered by the papers that were intercepted by Birkinhead[a]." The same gentleman, writing to the marquis from Jersey, Oct. 13, 1659, had then also intimated his suspicions that his master was betrayed. "For my part," says he, "I fear he is betrayed in all he doth; for its impossible but that the rebels should more apprehend their condition (being so abominable villains as they know themselves to be): but having sure and potent friends near the king, they value nothing that his majesty can do[b]." Thus watchful were the commonwealth governors to disappoint the designs of Charles and his adherents. The protector followed their example; and had always those, among the exiles, who were willing to inform him of the transactions of his adversary. In a letter of intelligence from Paris, dated May 22, 1654, N. S. it is said, "Here is one, you know, desires to go into England, yet disguised, and so to return, after one hour's conference with his highness, wherein he says he will let him know more, than can be conveyed otherwise, for his service in the highest degree. You may move it if you think it fit. I presume he can give the greatest designs on foot with the king of France and

[a] Ormonde's Papers, vol. I. p. 464. [b] Id. p. 322.

R. C.[a]." Mr. Downing, resident in Holland, in a letter to Thurloe, dated Hague, Oct. 1658, N. S. says, "As for Charles Stuart his having been in Holland, surely you had my memorial complaining thereof, which was even at the very time while he was in Holland, and at the very time I had an account from one Killigrew of his bed-chamber of every place where he was, and the time, with his stay and company, of which also I gave you an account in mine by the last post. He vowed that it was a journey of pleasure, and that none of the States general, nor any person of note of Amsterdam came to him; besides, I have perfectly gained Tom Howard, of Howard, of Suffolk, whose papers I sent (which yet he hath noe knowledge of at all, or that I have any such things) and he assured me that it was a journey of pleasure; but withal he tells me, Hen. Germin is certainly gone into France upon some notable business; some think it is with propositions for a peace with Spain which the lord Germin is to put forward; and some do conjecture, that this is the product of the visit which the cardinal is said to have given to the little queen" [Henrietta Maria] "upon the news of the death of the lord protector, of which I gave you an account in a late letter.—I think I can hardly pitch upon one a fitter instrument than Tom Howard, he being master of the horse to the princess royal, and I shall endeavour to improve him[b]." This Mr. Howard asked afterward from Downing 1000*l.* per annum[c] for further intelligence, as may reasonably be supposed. In an intercepted letter, dated London, June 22, 1654, we have what follows. "I could wish that neither yourself nor Luke, acquaint any with whome you keepe any cor-

[a] Thurloe, vol. II. p. 276. [b] Id. vol. VII. p. 418. [c] Id. p. 443.

respondence here; for it is hard to know in whome to have confidence, considering the number of spyes we have there, who beare the outside of real cavaliers, but do send all intelligence hither, and discover those heere, who keepe any correspondance with that place. Beside the number that are dispersed in that city, who are no less than fifty or sixty, there are those about him, whome we call the king of Scots (and such perhaps as are neer his person), who send hither punctual relation of his acts and intentions; otherwise such things as have been suggested there, to be executed here, had never been revealed; for the chief discovery of this late plot [Gerard's] came from thence; and some about him have their wives and children here, who receive a reasonable allowance, under the notion of a jointure[a]." The same complaint we find renewed in another letter, written in the same month. "You have yett more knaves about the king: find them out. You do nothing but it is knowne here in ten days; so that the king cannot be too private: to my knowledge this is true; and if it were not so, he would before this have the private supply of a person very eminent and in a considerable way.——Keep things to yourself, and get from Paris, or else you will be betrayed[b]."

His majesty soon after left Paris; but he was not the less betrayed. For a slight inspection of Thurloe's papers is sufficient to satisfy us, that his motions were narrowly watched at Cologn, Brussels, and elsewhere: nor was there a scheme set on foot at any time in his favour, but his enemies had full intelligence of it. So able were the managers in England! So forcible is wisdom, aided by wealth, properly applied, in the affairs

[a] Thurloe, vol. VII. p. 392. [b] Id. p. 415.

of nations.—It must not be omitted, that the parliament, who encouraged ingenuity, and sought out for men of genius, had a very honest advantage over their adversaries, in the skill of one of their decypherers. This was Dr. Wallis; who first found out the art of decyphering any letters written in cyphers, without having the keys of the cyphers. Hence it came to pass, that when the royal party had letters in cypher, and they fell into the hands of their enemies, they thoroughly understood what was contained in them, at least the most material parts: whereas the intercepted letters of the parliament partizans, written in the like manner, were wholly useless to the possessors, by reason of their ignorance in the art. The surprise the royalists were in when they first came to the knowledge of this, which was not till very near the time of the restoration, will be best shewn by an extract or two of chancellor Hyde's letters to Dr. Barwick. "I am compelled," says he, in a letter dated Brussels, Feb. 20, 1660, "to enlarge this very long letter, by an unhappy information, which secretary Nicolas now gives me from Mr. Baron; who sends to him to desire me to forbear writing any more in Mr. Rumbald's cypher; because, he says, the council of state hath gotten a copy of it; which I cannot imagine; since, as I am sure it hath never been out of my own hands, so there can be no such thing from hence; and I cannot imagine, that he would be less careful there; and it is very natural for them to give out such brags, as they do of their great skill in decyphering; for which nobody needs to fear them, if they write carefully in good cyphers[a]."—In another letter, dated March 8, he writes, "I confess to you, as I am sure no copy could be gotten of any of

[a] Barwick's Life, p. 500. 8vo. Lond. 1724.

my cyphers from hence; so I did not think it probable, that they could be got on your side the water. But I was confident, till you tell me you believe it, that the devil himself cannot decypher a letter, that is well written, or find that 100 stands for sir H. Vane. I have heard many of the pretenders to that skill, and have spoken with some of them, but have found them all to be mountebanks: nor did I ever hear that more of the kings letters that were found at Naseby, than those which they found decyphered, or found the cyphers in which they were writ were decyphered. And I very well remember, that in the volume they published, there was much left in cypher, which could not be understood; and which, I believe, they would have explained, if it had been in their power: but you can easily satisfy yourself in this point; if you either make a cypher yourself, or write half a score lines out of several other cyphers, and send them to the artist: and then you will be convinced yourself, and be able to convince others; and then it will be to no purpose to traffick any more in those commodities[a]." In a third letter, dated April 2, he still adhered to his opinion. "I cannot again imagine how any of our letters have come to be decyphered; for I am sure he cannot do it, if they were written carefully; nor have I heard of any that have been sent from hence, that have been decyphered. It is too much that those from thence have met with that misfortune; and I think that you once told me, that somewhat writ in your cypher had met with the same fate[b]."——It has been observed, "that men are most confident, when most mistaken." This observation was verified here. There is undoubtedly such an art, as his lordship deemed

[a] Barwick's Life, p. 504. 8vo. Lond. 1724. [b] Id. p. 510.

very little fear of his power[23] of doing

impossible to have any existence. "For Mr. Matthew Wrenn (son to the right reverend bishop of Ely) who was intimately acquainted with this mathematician [Wallis], obtained of him some copies of these letters as he had decyphered them, and took care to have them delivered severally to the persons that wrote the letters, who all acknowledged them for their own, and left no room to doubt of the decypherers art[a]."——The royalists, we see, were a long time in a trap, before they were aware of it.

[23] The government of England held him in contempt, and had very little fear of his power.] We have already seen the commonwealth governors proclaiming Charles a traitor, and setting a price on his head. Cromwell, who succeeded them, entertained no more honourable thoughts of his majesty; but publicly expressed his opinion of his meanness and guilt. In "the true account of the conspiracy against his highness the protector, and the commonwealth, printed in 1654, and published by special command," after having enumerated the tyrannies and wickedness of the Stuart race, whilst they sat on the English throne; the writer goes on in the following words. "Next, as concerning his son, the present young pretender, he was one that was bred up in blood, in the midst of debauch'd armies,

[a] Barwick's Life, p. 252. 8vo. Lond. 1724. I think Dr. Wallis communicated this mystery to none but his own grandson, Mr. Blencow, fellow of All Souls, Oxford, whose head was too much affected by it; and he imparted it to the ingenious Mr. Wills, now D. D. royal decypherer, and prebendary of Westminster, 1726. Kennett's Register, p. 607. This gentleman was afterwards promoted to the bishopric of Bath and Wells, in 1743, where he is now living, 1762. The art of decyphering is now possessed by several gentlemen; though, perhaps, not in the perfection his lordship has it.

them any mischief.——And, indeed, whoever considers the state of Charles's court,

and drank a large draught of that which his father drew from the sides of these three nations. Upon his score also we must cast the barbarous murders of those two ingenious and learned gentlemen, Dr. Dorisla and Mr. Ascham; by which inhuman actions, with the other blood that hath been shed since, upon his account, both in England and Scotland, he hath, you see, approved himself heir-apparent to that blood-guiltiness and vengeance which belongs to his fathers house. But this we may the more especially take notice of in that declaration which the Scots set out in his name, as their king, a little before the famous battle at Dunbar, wherein he acknowledged the sins of his fathers bloody and idolatrous house, the wicked ways of his father, the idolatries of his mother, and the blood-guiltiness of his family. What happiness or comfort then may be expected from such a race, whose interest still lies in blood, and who by a declaration of their own have acknowledged themselves to be a bloody generation? But yet this is not all, though it be enough to fright all honest men from any commerce or communication with him; there is one thing more very remarkable in the young man, and that is the disposition of his mind, being naturally a Nullifidian in all the points of civil honesty, as well as religion; one of whom no hold can be taken, by any oaths, promises, and engagements whatsoever, as you may perceive by his dealings with the Scottish nation, both before and after his coming amongst them.—Which demeanor of his being well weighed, we need say very little concerning his religion, supposing not many will fail in

if it may be called by that name, or his own behaviour, under his misfortunes, will

love with him for that which he himself seems not to be much in love with; but if any have a mind to be curious about it, let them consider his education, his frequent negotiations with the court of Rome, his often conversing with the jesuits in their own colleges wheresoever he comes, his alliances with, relations and dependencies upon foreign papists, and they may easily conclude what religion he is of, if any. So that comparing all these things together, whether we consider the fate and wretchedness of his family, or his own personal qualifications, we conceive it hardly imaginable, that any pious, honest, or sober-minded man should contribute so much as a thought, much less imbroil his native country in blood and confusion (as these wild conspirators would have done) for the restoring so blood-guilty, perfidious, and infamous a house and person. Then lastly, as concerning his pretence of title, if we look up to Henry the Seventh, its original, there will be no great cause to admire it; for, he only descended from a bastard of John of Gaunt, which (though legitimated for common inheritances, yet) expresly was excluded from succession to the crown; and for his wives title, you know he never thought that worth the using; and yet from this spurious slip of the Lancastrian line it was, that king James derived his claim, and that but collaterally, and at second hand, being (in effect) a meer stranger in blood to the English; whereupon we may justly wonder what policy guided this nation, when it so strangely bowed down the neck to the yoke of strangers. But admit this title had been without flaws, yet this mans

not wonder at the opinion that was entertained of his insignificancy. For what

fathers treasons and his own, have most deservedly cut off the entaile; for it was evident enough what a governor this young pretender would have proved, who took in his fathers principles with his mothers milk, hath been bred up under the wings of prelacie and poperie, and as he suckt both breasts heretofore, so he hangs upon them both at this very day; one who from the beginning hath been engaged in a war against the commonwealth, and who hath the same counsellors his father had (assisted by the Jesuits) to remember him both of the design, and the ways to effect it; one who hath been bedabled in all the blood of England, Scotland and Ireland; one who hath both his fathers and his own scores to clear out of English purses, and made it his business to cajole and cheat all parties in hope to get in again, attended with the desperate rabble of the three nations, and then to do what he list, and dispose of all at meer will and pleasure, for the satisfying of their ambition and revenges[a]." What spirit! what discernment of character! what foresight of events is here!——In another pamphlet, intitled, "A true state of the case of the Commonwealth, in reference to the late established government by a Lord Protector[b]," it is said, "if men shall yet proceed to lengthen their own burdens, by hankering after that family which God hath cast out before us, or by an unnatural seeking to imbroil their country again in blood and misery, for the sake of that accursed interest; as we are loth to suspect such a thing, and can hardly imagine that any should be so forlorn and

[a] True Account, p. 19—23. [b] 4to. Lond. 1654.

dread could a government, who employed the most able men in every department,

desperate after so fair a composure: so we think it necessary to reclaim such persons, if any there be inclined that way, by laying down these few considerations concerning that person and family which pretends to the government of these nations.

" 1. It is a family that hath worn the marks and badges of Gods high displeasure for almost these hundred years: the weight of which vengeance hath fallen upon, and hitherto sunk all their partakers; the particulars whereof being in every mans view, and many of them fresh in observation, we shall not here enumerate.

" 2. If we reflect upon the person of the young pretender, he is by blood almost a stranger to this nation, being by the mother a Frenchman, and now unquestionably such by his education in that court, where he hath always before his eyes that pattern of absolute power which bewitched his father. Besides, he is a man of blood, having involved himself in the guilt of all that innocent blood which was spilt by his father, and hath added more to it since, to fill up the measure of that transgression.

" 3. His religion (if any) is at best, you know, but a devotion to prelacy (which was bequeathed to him in legacy) having forfeited his oaths to the Scottish nation, and all his other pretences to religion there, before ever he left the country. What profession he owns in France is hardly visible; but his mothers instructions, the urgency of his necessities disposing him to embrace any thing, his dependence upon foreign papists, his frequent known applications and promises

and who were supported by a veteran army, flushed with uninterrupted success,

to the pope, by special agents employed to Rome for that purpose, and to the emperor, his alliance to and combination with popish princes, being put all together in the ballance, is ground enough to believe him sufficiently affected, if not sworn to popery. For, if he have any promise of assistance (as perhaps the popish party may now combine, seeing we are for a settlement of the true religion) it is to be presumed, those persons will not be forward to re-invest him here, unless they may together with him restore the Roman-catholick interest and superstition.

" 4. The great and vast debts that he hath in all this time contracted abroad (should he return hither) must all be discharged out of the purses of this exhausted nation.

" 5. Consider the desperate crew of forlorn fugitives, foreigners, and papists, that he must bring along with him, which will, like locusts, devour the whole land before them; for, their insatiable appetites must all be served, and great rewards must be thought of for his leaders and followers; so that his return will be so far from being a remedy or relief of taxes, that the nation itself will be too little for him and his.

" 6. The manifold revenges and cruelties that are to be expected: no mans life, no mans estate can be secure: there will be then no distinction of parties, and every small compliance with what hath passed, every the least word shall be made guilt enough, and ground enough (if he please) for death and confiscation.

" 7. Lastly, an arbitrary uncontroulable will and power to put all these things in execution: for, if

have of men [24] continually at variance among themselves, and accusing each

ever he get in by the sword, he becomes at the very instant as absolute as the grand signior; and will then be fully enabled to accomplish what his family had long projected, viz. the inthroning himself upon an interest of meer will and power against the common interest of the people; by which means our lives and liberties, our wives and children, our estates and fortunes, would all be exposed as a sacrifice to the boundless ambition and cruelty of a race of tyrants; it would enervate the natural vigor and courage of the people, and exceedingly debase the honour of this free nation [a]." ——In this manner was Charles treated by those who held the reins of government! In this light held up to the people! who were hereby taught to look on him as most odious, as well as contemptible.—From the above quotations one sees, that the word pretender, as signifying a prince rejected by a people, and excluded by laws, was not unknown to the English, though it was almost forgotten, till revived by queen Anne, and applied to the person who laid claim to the throne of Great Britain [b].

[24] Men continually at variance among themselves, and accusing each other.] Whatever supposed advantages there may be in fomenting factions in monarchies or commonwealths, for the preservation of liberty, or the safety of the prince; it will hardly admit of a doubt, whether unanimity and harmony are necessary to such persons as have hazardous enterprises to under-

[a] True State, p. 48. [b] See Burnet's History of his Own Times, vol. II. p. 503.

take, or powerful adversaries to guard against. Men in a common danger should be mutually helpful to each other, and exert themselves to the utmost for the common safety. Private piques and prejudices ought to be for ever buried, or to be lain aside till the public affairs are in a quiet and prosperous condition. This, common sense teaches. But the followers of Charles had not learnt the lesson; and, consequently, were incapable of benefiting their master. As early as the year 1648, when the prince was in Holland, and his father in prison, high disputes arose among those who composed his council.——"In this desperate condition stood the kings affairs when the prince was at the Hague," says Clarendon: "his fleet already mutinying for pay, his own family factious and in necessity, and that of his brother the duke of York full of intrigues and designs, between the restless, unquiet spirit of Bamfield, and the ambitious and as unquiet humour of Sir John Berkley. The council which was not numerous (for the prince had not authority to add any to those who are his fathers counsellors) wanted not unity in itself so much as submission and respect from others, which had been lost to those who were in the fleet, and the prejudice to those still remained, and so abated much of the reverence which most men were willing to pay to the two who came last. And the great animosity which prince Rupert had against the lord Colepepper infinitely disturbed the counsels, and perplexed the lord Cottington, and the chancellor of the exchequer, who had credit enough with the other two. But Colepepper had some passions and infirmities, which no friends could restrain; and though prince Rupert was very well inclined to the chancellor, and would in many things be advised by him, yet his prejudice to Colepepper was so rooted in him, and that

prejudice so industriously cultivated by Herbert the attorney general, who had the absolute ascendent over that prince, and who did perfectly hate all the world that would not be governed by him, that every meeting in council was full of bitterness between them [a]." But this was not all.—Colepepper challenged prince Rupert, but afterwards asked his pardon; and Sir Robert Walsh struck Colepepper in the face with great violence in the open street [b]. After the death of Charles I. the factions still continued. Sir Edward Nicolas, in a letter to the marquis of Ormonde, dated St. Germains, Sept. 4, 1649, N.S. says, "There is here at this instant, whether the lord Jermyn and his faction, or Tho. Elliott, and Sir Edward Herbert (who are of prince Ruperts party) shall have the chief interest in the management of the king's affairs. The first by the advantages of this place have yet the better of it: but it is believed when the king goes hence (especially if he goes not for Jersey) that the other party will get the helm into their hands. In the mean time nothing is settled or acted by sad or serious counsel, but by catches and on occasion, to the heart-breaking of all knowing men [c]." In another letter to the same, dated Sept. 21, 1649, he writes, "The lord Percy was lately by the kings command confined for three days to his chamber for insolent words spoken to his majesty before the lords of the council; but on his submission, he is at liberty, and as busy in the kings ear for the presbyterian faction as ever [d]." Again he tells the marquis, in a letter, written Oct. 26, 1649, "I shall now only add, what in some former letter I have intimated, that you will be pleased to be wary how far you

[a] See Burnet's History of his Own Times, vol. V. p. 192. [b] Carte's Life of Ormonde, vol. III. p. 508. [c] Ormonde's Papers, vol. I. p. 306. [d] Id. p. 313.

rely on, and what you communicate to, lord Jermyn; for if I am truly informed by my lord Hatton and others who honor your excellency, lord Jermyn hath no kindness at all for you, and Mr. Long is his lordships creature and intelligencer[a]."——The same gentleman, in a letter, dated Beauvais, March 15, 1650, and written also to lord Ormonde, informs him, "The king will, when he arrives in Holland, increase the number of his counsellors as soon as he can: and truly unless he shall do so and unite those that are of his council, I cannot expect any prosperity. I pray be pleased in all your letters to advise his majesty to settle a faithful and united council to manage his great affairs; for, without it, none of his party will, with so great hazard as they must run, dare to appear.——I do little business, nor have any heart to it, being his majesty hath not a formed council, and acts many things of importance by hands that few honest men will trust[b]."—Lord Ormonde, in answer to Sir Edward, expresses some hopes of the king's restoration; but adds, "that which most staggers my faith in this is, the domestick division in so little a company as those are that profess to serve him; yet that is not without apparent remedy, if men may be persuaded to pursue but their own interest with the calmness befitting rational persons; and to such a reconciliation it shall be my most industrious labour to dispose all that have confidence in my friendship[c]."—But calmness and reason were unknown to these exiles: for the party opposite to Hyde and Ormonde were equally as loud in their turns, and scrupled not to accuse them of the worst crimes.—Colonel Bamfylde, who followed Charles abroad, but kept up a correspondence with Thurloe at

[a] Ormonde's Papers, vol. I. p. 397. [b] Id. p. 364. [c] Id. p. 406.

home, and gave notice of what came to his knowledge, informs him as follows. " His councille are his mother, the duke of Yorke, prince Rupert, the duke of Buckingham, the marquis of Ormonde, the earl of Rochester, the lords Percye, Jermin, Inchequin, Taff lately made, and Sir Edward Hyde. The foure first, together with Jermin, are of a faction directly opposite to Hyde and the other party, who for the present intirely govern in his councils; and theyr designs seem to be as different as their inclinations. Ormonde, Hyde, and their party, have, contrary to the sense of the reste, advised and prevailed with theyr king totally to abandon both the party and the principles of the presbyterians, and to rely entirely upon his old episcopal party, which, they persuade him, comprehends the nobility, gentry, and bulke of the kingdom of England, who would not rise with him in his late march into England, because he was believed to goe upon grounds disagreeable to theyr affections, interests, and the goode of the nation, and inconsistent with the antient constitutions both of church and state: and to this purpose about a year and a half since, or a little more, there was employed over to him one Sir Gilbert Talbott, with letters of credit, and to strengthen them with a considerable sum of money from divers persons of consideration in this commonwealth to his majestie, with assurance, that if he would retire to his first principles, and intrust the management of his affairs to such hands aboute him, as his friends might securely confide in, they would adventure both theyr lives and fortunes for his recovery. To second this, immediately after, one colonel Phillips was employed to him by others to the same purpose: and albeit I believe there was much of reality in theise messages, yet I doe not doubt, but the persons and their designs were represented by Hyde

and Ormonde (whoe procured themselves to be represented as fittest for truste) with greater advantages than either could produce for the strengthening of theyr own credit with their master; by which means they weaned their king from the government of his mothers councill, and have ever since bound him absolutely up to theyr owne sence[a]."—Mr. Manning (who was afterwards shot for betraying the king), in a letter, dated June 1, 1655, says, "I need not tell you by whom prince Rupert was turned from court.——By the last letters it doth seem, as if prince Rupert had an intention to see Cologne before Modena; and if he can break Hydes neck here, it may alter his design, and make him stay with the king, which he hath most mind of[b]."—In another letter, written from Cologne, July 28, of the same year, it is said, "Wednesday last Middleton and Belcarris were made friends by Charles Stuart himself, and all hushed. The same day that the calumny was taken off, Belcarris propounded to the king from the body of the Scots presbyterians, that if the duke of York or prince Rupert might be solely left to be their leaders and managers of that affair, and that Hyde may not be privy to any thing of it, or that party, that then all their interest for money, men, and arms, should be employed against you. And now he proceeds to treat concerning a reconciliation between Charles Stuart and the queen[c]."——That there were great prejudices against Hyde, he himself confesses. "There was another design," says he, "set on foot, by which they [his adversaries] concluded they should sufficiently mortify the chancellor [himself], who, they thought, had still too much credit with his master. When the king went into Scotland, Mr. Robert Long,

[a] Thurloe, vol. II. p. 510. [b] Vol. III. p. 459. [c] Id. p. 659.

who had been mentioned before, was secretary of state; who, having been always a creature of the queens, and dependent upon the lord Jermyn, had so behaved himself towards them, during his short stay in Scotland (for he was one of those who was removed from the king there, and sent out of that kingdom), that when his majesty returned from Worcester to Paris, they would by no means suffer that he should wait upon his majesty; and accused him of much breach of trust, and dishonesty, and, amongst the rest, that he should say, which could be proved, that it was impossible for any man to serve the king honestly, and to preserve the good opinion of the queen, and to keep the lord Jermyns favour. The truth is, that gentleman had not the good fortune to be generally well thought of, and the king did not believe him faultless; and therefore was contented to satisfy his mother, and would not permit him to execute his office, or to attend in his councils. Whereupon he left the court, and liv'd privately at Roan; which was the reason that the chancellor had been commanded to execute that place, which intitled him to so much trouble. Upon this conjunction between the lord Jermyn and the keeper [Herbert], the last of whom had in all times inveigh'd against Mr. Long's want of fidelity, they agreed, that there could not be a better expedient found out to lessen the chancellors credit, than by restoring Long to the execution of the secretary's function. Whereupon they sent for him, and advised him to prepare a petition to the king, that he might be again restored to his office and attendance, or that he might be charged with his crimes, and be farther punished, if he did not clear himself, and appear innocent. This petition was presented to the king, when he was in council, by the queen; who came thither only for that purpose, and

desired that it might be read; which being done, the king was surprized, having not in the least received any notice of it; and said that her majesty was the principal cause that induced his majesty to remove him from his place, and that she then believed that he was not fit for the trust. She said, she had now a better opinion of him, and that she had been misinformed. The king thought it unfit to receive a person into so near a trust, against whose fidelity there had been such publick exceptions; and his majesty knew that few of his friends in England would correspond with him; and therefore would not be perswaded to restore him. This was again put all upon the chancellors account, and the influence he had upon the king. Thereupon Mr. Long accused the chancellor of having betrayed the king; and undertook to prove that he had been over in England, and had private conference with Cromwell; which was an aspersion so impossible, that every body laugh'd at it: yet because he undertook to prove it, the chancellor pressed that a day might be appointed for him to produce his proof: and at that day, the queen came again to the council, that she might be present at the charge. There Mr. Long produced Massonet, a man who had serv'd him, and afterwards been an under-clerk for writing letters and commissions, during the time of the kings being in Scotland, and had been taken prisoner at Worcester; and, being released with the rest of the kings servants, had been employed, from the time of the kings return, in the same service under the chancellor; the man having, before the troubles, taught the king, and the duke of York, and the rest of the kings children to write, being indeed the best writer, for the fairness of the hand, of any man in that time. Massonet said, that after his release from his imprisonment, and whilst he staid in

London, he spoke with a maid, who had formerly serv'd him, that knew the chancellor very well, and who assured him, that one evening she had seen the chancellor go into Cromwells chamber at Whitehall; and after he had been shut up with him some hours, she saw him conducted out again. And Mr. Long desired time, that he might send over for this woman, who should appear and justify it. To this impossible discourse, the chancellor said, he would make no other defence, than that there were persons then in the town, who, he was confident, would avow that they had seen him once every day, from the time he returned from Spain to the day on which he attended his majesty at Paris; as indeed there were; and when he had said so, he offered to go out of the room; which the king would not have him do. But he told his majesty it was the course; and that he ought not to be present at the debate that was to concern himself; and the keeper with some warmth, said, it was true; and so he retired to his own chamber. The lord Jermyn, as soon as he was gone, said, that he never thought the accusation had any thing of probability in it; and that he believ'd the chancellor a very honest man; but the use that he thought ought to be made of this calumny, was, that it appeared that an honest and innocent man might be calumniated, as he thought Mr. Long had likewise been; and therefore they ought both to be cleared. The keeper said, he saw not ground enough to condemn the chancellor; but he saw no cause neither to declare him innocent: that there was one witness which declared only what he had heard; but that he undertook also to produce the witness herself if he might have time; which in justice could not be denied; and therefore he proposed, that a competent time might be given to Mr. Long to make out his

proof; and that in the mean time the chancellor might not repair to the council: with which proposition the king was so offended, that, with much warmth, he said, he discerned well the design; and that it was so false and wicked a charge, that, if he had no other exception against Mr. Long than this foul and foolish accusation, it was cause enough never to trust him. And therefore he presently sent for the chancellor, and as soon as he came in, commanded him to sit in his place; and told him he was sorry he was not in a condition to do him more justice than to declare him innocent; which he did so, and commanded the clerk of the council to draw up a full order for his vindication, which his majesty himself would sign[a]." Thus the chancellor tells the story. But Sir Richard Greenville, or Granville, in his "Defence against all aspersions of malignant persons," printed and published in Holland, Jan. 28, 1654, relates it as follows. "In April and May, 1653, when I was in Paris, it was there commonly spoken by divers persons, how that Sir Edward Hyde was suspected to have betrayed the king. Afterwards elsewhere having understood more probabilities of such truths, I believed it my duty to advertize his majesty of what I had been informed thereof. Aug. 12, 1653, I writ it to his majesty, for prevention of future mischief, if to be doubted, as that it was reported Sir Edward Hyde had private conference with Cromwell in England for intelligence. For answer thereto, the marquis of Ormonde, by letter of the 19th of September, 1653, did write to me,——that his majesty required to know my grounds for what I did alledge against Sir Edward Hyde, also that I should send him all writings received concerning that affair: and like-

[a] Clarendon, vol. VI. p. 515.

wise the names of all my authors. In obedience, I wrote as followeth. That my duty was my only ground for what I writ concerning Sir Edward Hyde. As for my authors, Colonel Wyndham said to myself at Boulogne, in June, 1653, that Sir Edward Hyde had been in England, and that there he had private speech with Cromwell; also, said he, Mr. Robert Long is now in Holland, he can, and will give more certain information of its particulars: and that thereupon I did by letter desire Mr. Long to certify the truth of that report. July 28, 1653, I received his answer, wherein he appeared to confirm, what I writ was said of Sir Edward Hyde, by Colonel Wyndham: which letter I sent, because commanded, but greatly against my will. Since which letter Mr. Robert Long sent me another, containing thus——I will assure you it will be verified that the person named did positively and constantly affirm before two witnesses, whereof one is on this side of the sea, and the other in England, that that person brought Sir Edward Hyde to a conference with Cromwell, and described him so particularly, that it was evident he was known; and did as particularly describe a person that was then with him.——And lastly, concerning Sir Edward Hydes pension for intelligence, that it was so said by divers persons, so commonly, and in divers places, that I did not charge them to my memory, therefore could not possibly at certainty name many authors for it, but I did well remember Mr. Campbell said it sundry times in my hearing at Paris: so also did the bishop of Derry speak it to me at Flushing, July, 1653. Having thus performed my duty, as required, at last, for the reward of my constant known loyalty, the marquis of Ormonde did signify to me, by letters dated November 29, 1653, That it was his majesties pleasure to command that I should not

come into his presence or court: that he finds my allegations against Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer to be deficient to the ends they were offer'd, and are taken to be a defamatory libel. Since again for farther vindication of Hyde, have been dispersed many copies of a declaration in writing, as authorized by his majesty, Jan. 13, 1654, whereof divers copies have been dispers'd, not only in France, but also in England, Holland, and elsewhere; and of the same here next ensuing is a copy.

"Tuesday, the 13th of January, 1654.

PRESENT,

The KINGS Majesty,
The QUEENS Majesty,
The DUKE of YORK,
The DUKE of GLOUCESTER,
Prince RUPERT,
Lord Keeper, Sir EDWARD HERBERT,
Lord Chamberlain, Lord PIERCY,
Lord INCHIQUIN,
Marquis of ORMONDE, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,
Lord JERMYN,
Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"Whereas upon complaint made the 22d day of December last by Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, of certain discourses spread abroad to his prejudice, as if he was under an accusation of high treason: and upon his humble desire that his majesty would examine the grounds of those discourses; his majesty, after other enquiries, caused a letter to be read which had been written to himself in August last past by Sir Richard Granville, in which he informed his majesty,

that Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer had made a step into England before his last coming to Paris, and that he had there private conference with Cromwell, and that he had a pension paid him a long time out of England for intelligence: For justifying which information, the said Sir Richard, being required by his majesty to send him the grounds thereof, had sent a letter written to him by Mr. Robert Long, which was then likewise read: upon which matter, after his majesty had examined other allegations made by Sir Richard, which he found to be untrue, and some whereof his majesty himself knew to be false, his majesty had formerly declared his judgment to the said Sir Richard, forbidding him to come into his presence. —And moreover his majesty examined Mr. Peter Massonet at the board, the 12th of this instant, in regard he had been mentioned as one of the authors of that report; and likewise caused a paper written by the said Mr. Robert Long, dated January 12th, in justification of what he had formerly written to Sir Richard Granville, to be read, which paper his majesty looks upon as a libel derogatory to his own honour and justice, as well as full of malice against Mr. Chancellor, and will hereafter take farther consideration thereof. And upon the whole matter declares, that the accusation and information against Mr. Chancellor is a groundless and a malicious calumny, and that he is well satisfied of his constant integrity and fidelity in the service of his father and himself: and moreover that he will in due time farther examine this unworthy combination against him, when it shall be more in his power to punish the persons who shall appear to be guilty of it. And in the mean time his majesty declares his former judgment, that the said Sir Richard Granville shall not presume to come into

other? What fear of a prince, poor and exiled, who spent his time in idleness or low amours[25]? Fortune, however, seemed

his presence.' To conclude this declaration, I only subscribe——O put not your trust in princes, nor in any child of man, for there is no help in them." Lord Lansdown, in a marginal note, says, "he [Granville] might very well make that reflexion, for there was not a member of the council but who had engaged himself to stand by him, except the marquis of Ormonde[a]." The reader will, from this declaration of the council, remark on the defects, to say the least, of lord Clarendon's narrative; and, what is more material, on the broils subsisting among the followers and counsellors of Charles, who thereby incapacitated themselves from promoting his interest in the British dominions, or in foreign realms. For what could the one or the other think of a set of men, whom adversity itself had not taught wisdom? A more contemptible groupe can hardly be figured, by the imagination, than these men: beaten in the field; fugitives in a foreign land; adorned with empty, insignificant, high-sounding titles: poor; beggarly; quarrelsome; and contentious: hateful; and hating one another.—Could these excite fear among any but themselves?

[25] What fear of a prince,——who spent his time in idleness, or low amours.] Nothing is more prejudicial to men in common life, than idleness. The faculties of the soul contract rust by it; and in time become languid, or lethargic. To which it ought to be added,

[a] Lansdown's Works, vol. II. p. 236—241.

to favour him by the death of Oliver, who

that it is the parent of many a vice; and inconsistent with our dignity, duty, and happiness:

> "Man hath his daily work of body or mind
> Appointed him, which declares his dignity,
> And the regard of Heav'n on all his ways."
>
> MILTON.

A prince of this disposition is ill qualified to maintain his station in prosperity. A favourite must have the direction of all affairs, which will be managed generally in such a manner as to be hurtful to the public, and prejudicial to the sovereign. But in adversity, nothing possibly can be more mischievous. It dispirits friends, it encourages enemies, sinks the reputation, and renders all around indifferent to his interest. Burnet tells us, "that whilst Charles was abroad at Paris, Colen, or Brussels, he never seemed to lay any thing to heart. He pursued all his diversions, and irregular pleasures, in a free carrier; and seemed to be as serene under the loss of a crown, as the greatest philosopher could have been. Nor did he willingly hearken to any of those projects, with which he often complained that his chancellor persecuted him. That in which he seemed most concerned was, to find money for supporting his expence. And it was often said, that, if Cromwell would have compounded the matter, and have given him a good round pension, he might have been induced to resign his title to him. During his exile he delivered himself so entirely to his pleasures, that he became incapable of application. He spent little of his time in reading or study, and yet less in thinking[a]."—That this very probably is a true

[a] Hist. of his own Times, vol. I. p. 611.

had distinguished himself so much by his account of his majesty's behaviour abroad, will be evident from the following quotations.—Sir Edward Nicolas, as early as the year 1649, writing to lord Ormonde, says, "I beseech your lordship, when his majesty shall be with you there [in Ireland], not to spare to tell him home the truth of his sad condition, and to advise him in plain terms what is requisite for him to do in order to his great affairs, without relation to any persons whatsoever. For his business and condition is such, and of so vast and publick concernment, as will bear no compliment or complyances with any[a]." Lord Byron, in a letter to the same nobleman, dated Jersey, Oct. 12, 1649, tells him, "that he finds his majesties stay [in Jersey] hath been so far from enabling him any way, that it hath rather extreamly increased his necessities, and that foreign princes (though I am confident whensoever he comes into action he will sufficiently confute all such opinions) begin to look upon him as a person so lazy and careless in his own business, that they think it not safe, by contributing any thing to his assistance, to irritate so potent enemies as they fear his rebellious subjects are like to prove. So that though Drogheda (which God forbid) should fall into the rebels hands, yet I humbly conceive that ought not at all to retard his journey into Ireland, but rather to hasten it, that he may come at least whilst he hath something left to fight for, and not be taken here in a nook of the world, with his hands in his pockets, as he is sure to be, if he continue here till the season of the year permit the rebels to attempt it[b]." And if we may believe the

[a] Ormonde's Papers, vol. I. p. 312. [b] Id. p. 318.

abilities; and the partizans of Charles, in

lord Clarendon, he himself had often said, "the king took too much delight in pleasures, and did not love to take pains; and that his majesty confessed that he did really believe that he was himself in fault, and did not enough delight in his business[a]."

What a man in the gaiety of youth, thoughtless and indolent, may be supposed to do, Charles did. "He passed his time at Bruges," said Sir M. Verneth, "with shooting and other such obscure pastimes, not so much as taken notice of." There was not much ground for blame in this: but what follows will be thought less reputable to the king and his attendants. It is contained in a letter from Mr. J. Butler, dated Flushing, Dec. 2, 1656, N. S.—"Charles Stuarts court groweth very numerous.—This last week, one of the richest churches at Bruges was plundered in the night; the people of Bruges are fully perswaded that Charles Stuarts followers had done it; they spare no charges to find out the guilty, and if it happen to light upon any of Charles Stuarts train, it will certainly incense that people against them.—There is now a company of French comedians at Bruges, who are very punctually attended by Charles Stuart and his court, and all the ladies there: their most solemn day of acting is on the Lord's day. I think I may truly say, that greater abominations were never practised among people than at this day, at Charles Stuarts court. Fornication, drunkenness, and adultery, are esteemed no sins among them; so that I perswade myself God will never prosper any of their attempts. He who was bishop of Londonderry [Bramhall], in Ireland, is now at Bruges;

[a] Clarendon, vol. VI. p. 519.

England and abroad, began to be elated

when he preacheth, which is but seldom, he thunders out cruel execrations against the Lord Protector, and the state of England[a]." Mr. Kingstonn, a zealous royalist, in a letter, dated Paris, Aug. 9. 1658, N. S. gives an account of his majesty's behaviour in these terms. "Sir, shall I believe that the king, who, by driving out of Cullen a person who gave his enemies a subject of discourse, acquired without doubt grace from heaven, and an advantageous esteem among men, is now misled so farre, as that the king of France should have cause to say openly, that the king of England, in his opinion, should rather with tears seek to appease the wrath of God, expressed in depriving him of his kingdoms (and that he would do it, if he were in his case), than follow his amours at Bruxells? This comes from one that heard the king of France speak it. Lord Aubeny tould me, that some relate this to (100 339 5 19 2 25); but sure that is an invention, perhaps, to defame her, and put her at distance with Lorain, for some reasons best knowne to themselves; but others speak of amours, to which he is ledd by some about him. If it be so, first, I wish them hang'd for their pains, that doe so; next, I looke with grief upon the condition of all of us, who certainly cannot expect any earthly happiness but by his means; nor can he, without the hand of heaven conduct him, ever attaine to that condition, wherein he may doe us good, so as wee must fancy to ourselves such a God as is not sensible of injuries, or beleave he will not doe miracles for us, while we attend him. You best know how and when to make use of this advertise-

[a] Thurloe, vol. V. p. 645.

by that event. But their hopes were short-

ment. For my part, I thinke that, besides the duty I ow him, I have so much affection for his person, that if he had his birthright, I would with all submission lay his fault before him, nay expect the more favour for it, his disposition considered; and would not doubt when his excellent judgment came to reflect upon the harme, that follows in all the circumstances of it, he would execrate their tongues that whisper it, and their eyes that direct him to look on such objects [a]." I suppose the person mentioned as driven away from Cologn by Mr. Kingstonn, was Mrs. Barlow, of whom we find an account in two letters of Mr. Daniel O'Neile's to Charles himself. In the first, dated Hage, 8 Feb. 1656, he says, "I have hitherto forborne giving your majesty any account of your commands concerning Mrs. Barloe, because those, that I employed to hir, brought me assurances from hir, she would obey your majesties commands. Of late I am tould she intends nothing less, and that she is assured from Collen your majesty would not have hir son from hir. I am much troubled to see the prejudice hir being here does your majesty; for every idle action of hirs brings your majestie upon the stage; and I am noe less ashamed to have so much importuned your majesty to have beeleved hir worthy your care. When I have the honor to wayte upon your majesty, I shall tell you what I have from a midwyf of this towne, and one of hir mayds, which she had not the discretione to use well after knowing so much of hir secrets." On the 14th of the same month he proceeds to inform, that "before he took the liberty to write any thing to

[a] Thurloe, vol. VII. p. 325.

lived. For Richard, the eldest son of the

him of Mrs. Barloe, he did sufficiently inform himself of the truth of what he writ; since," adds he, "I had the opportunity to save hir from publick scandall att least. Hir mayd, whom she would have killed by thrusting a bodkin into her eare ass shee was asleep, would have accused hir of that, of miscarrying of two children by phissick, and of the infamous manner of hir living with Mr. Howard; but I have prevented the mischief, partly with threats, but more with a 100 gilders I am to give hir mayd. Her last miscarriage was since Mrs. Howard went, ass the midwyf says to one, that I imploy to hir. Doctor Rusuf has given hir phissick, but it was allways after hir miscarrying; and though he knew any thing, it would bee indiscreet to tell it. Therefore I would not attempt him, and the rather, that I was sufficiently assured by those that were neerer. Though I have saved hir for this time, its not likely she'll escape when I am gone; for onely the consideration of your majesty has held Mons. Heenuleit and Mons. Nertwick, not to have hir banished this toune and country for an infamous person, and by sound of drum. Therefore it were well, if your majesty will owen this chyld, to send hir your positive command to deliver him unto whome your majesty will appoint. I know it from one whoe has read my lord Taffs letter to hir of the 11th by this last post, that he tells hir, your majesty has noething more in considerationе than hir sufferings; and that the next money you can gett or borrow, shall be sent to supply hir. Whyle your majesty incourages any to speak this language, shee'le never obey what you will have; the only way is to necessitat hir, if your majesty can think hir worth

protector, succeeded him in his dignity,

your care[a]."—This lady, whose true name was [Lucy] Walter, with her brother, the above-named Mr. Howard, and her maid, Ann Hill, were afterwards seized in England, and separately examined. In the information of the servant, taken upon oath, the 26th day of June, 1656, there are the following particulars. "That she was servant to the lady Walter, in Holland, about seven months; that the same lady came lately out of Flushing, hireing a boat to bring herself, two children, Mr. Justus Walter, her brother, and Thomas Howard, gentleman of the horse to the princess royal, at the Hague;——that she had often heard, that one of the said children her said lady had by Charles Stuart, and that the said lady had no other means to maintain her but what she hath from the said Charles Stuart, although she lives in a costly and high manner; and that her brother swore to the said informant, the said lady had been lately with the king, meaning Charles Stuart, a night and a day together[b]." In a further information taken the 2d of July, Ann Hill declares, "that Mrs. Walter told her, that the very same night in which she came from Antwerp or Brussels, Charles Stuart came thither, whereupon this informant asked her in these words, Did your honour see him? To which she answered, Yes, and he saw your master too (meaning one of her children, who is usually called master). And this informant saith that she knows not who came with the said lady into England besides Justus Walter, and Thomas Howard; and saith that she heard the said lady and her brother

[a] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 652. [b] Id. vol. V. p. 169.

and was received under the same title by

confer together about a necklace of pearl, which the lady intimated to him she had bought; and that they discoursed it must cost about 1500*l.* That she heard the said lady say, she had bespoke a coach, and that she would have it lined with red velvet, and have gold fringe on it within three weeks; and said, although they lived but closely in their lodgings, yet very plentifully in clothes and dyet, and had a coach to attend them continually from week to week[a]." Mrs. Walter was also examined; "who owned she had had a child by Charles Stuart, which was dead; but said that the two children she then had, were by a husband she had in Holland, whoe was alsoe dead[b]." Nothing of significancy could be got out of the brother, or Mr. Howard; though he afterwards became an informer of the actions of Charles to the government[c]. Mrs. Walter was soon released from the Tower by the protector. The son mentioned above, which was said to be Charles Stuart's, was born at Rotterdam, Ap. 9, 1649, and bore the name of James Crofts till his majesty's restoration. He was educated chiefly at Paris, under the eye of the queen-mother, and the government of Thomas Ross, Esq. and afterwards was well known by the title of duke of Monmouth[d].—Lord Clarendon tells us, that with "the queen-mother (after the restoration) came over a youth of about ten or a dozen years of age, who was called by the name of Mr. Crofts, because the lord Crofts had been trusted to take care of his

[a] Thurloe, vol. V. p. 178. [b] Id. p. 169. See Downing's Letter to Thurloe, in note 22. [c] Collins's Peerage, vol. III. p. 411. 8vo. Lond. 1756.

foreign princes, the army, and the three

breeding; but he was generally thought to be the kings son, begotten upon a private Welchwoman of no good fame, but handsome, who had transported herself to the Hague, when the king was first there, with a design to obtain that honour, which a groom of the bedchamber willingly preferr'd her to; and there it was this boy was born. The mother lived afterwards for some years in France in the kings sight, and at last lost his majesties favour: yet the king desired to have the son delivered to him, that he might take care of his education, which she would not consent to. At last the lord Crofts got him into his charge; and the mother dying at Paris, he had the sole tuition of him, and took care for the breeding him suitable to the quality of a very good gentleman. And the queen, after some years, came to know of it, and frequently had him brought to her, and used him with much grace; and upon the kings desire brought him with her from Paris into England, when he was about twelve years of age, very handsome, and performed those exercises gracefully which youths of that age used to learn in France. The king received him with extraordinary fondness, and was willing that every body should believe him to be his son, though he did not yet make any declaration that he looked upon him as such, otherwise than by his kindness and familiarity towards him. He assigned a liberal maintenance for him; but took not that care for a strict breeding of him as his age required[a]."—I must not neglect to add, that, according to Mr. Algernon Sydney, "Monmouth was, by the direction of Lord Crofts,

[a] Continuation, vol. II. p. 391.

brought up under the discipline of the Peres de l'Oratorie [a]."

Whether Charles was married to this Mrs. Walter, was a question much agitated in the latter part of his reign. The king, it is well known, absolutely denied it; and Monmouth, in the Tower, gave it under his hand, "that his father had often told him that there was no truth in the reports of his having married his mother [b]." On the other hand, it was asserted, that Mrs. Walter, at the time of her travail with the said duke, at other times, and in her last moments, did positively declare it: that Dr. Fuller, bishop of Lincoln, did often affirm, that he married the king and Mrs. Walter: that the innkeeper at Liege made it the great mystery with which he entertained his English guests, that the marriage was celebrated and consummated in his house; and that both he and his wife were eye and ear witnesses of it. To this it was added, that the lord chancellor Clarendon, being in danger of an impeachment for advising and persuading the king to a marriage with queen Catherine, excused himself from all sinister ends in that affair, by affirming, that his majesty had a lawful son of his own, by a former marriage (specifying by name the duke of Monmouth), to succeed to his crown and dignity [c]. And it is farther said, "that as there was no one person, accustomed to the fellowship of the town, who had not heard of such a marriage; so it was uncontroulably known, that there was in Oliver's time, a letter intercepted from the king to the said lady, then in the Tower, superscribed, to his wife. Nor is it unknown," continues the writer, "with what homage the king's

[a] Letters of Algernon Sydney to Henry Saville, p. 68. 8vo. Lond. 1742.
[b] Burnet, vol. I. p. 649. [c] Harleian Miscellany, vol. IV. p. 160.

party in England at that time paid their devotion, and testified their obedience to her. For, as they addressed her upon the knee, so by that, and many other symbols, they declared, they esteemed her for no less than the lawful wife of their king and master [a]."——What stress is to be laid on the words of such persons as Charles and the lady, in this affair, I pretend not to determine; nor do I think the stories brought to prove the legitimacy of Monmouth's birth, are of any great force to confirm it; but there is a passage or two in some letters from the princess of Orange, the king's sister, which would almost induce one to think there was something in it.—In a letter, dated Hage, 20 May, 1655, she says, "Your wife is resolving whether shee will writ or no: therefore I am to say nothing to you from her; but I will keepe open my letter as long as the post will permitte, to expect what good nature will worke, which I find now doth not at all, for 'tis now eleven of the clock, and no letter comes [b]."—In another, written from Hounsler-dyke, 21 June, 1655, she says, "Your wife desires me to present her humble duty to you, which is all she can say. I tell her, 'tis because she thinks of anothere husband, and dos not follow your example of being as constant a wife as you are a husband. 'Tis a frailty, they say, is given to the sex; therefore you will pardon her, I hope [c]." These expressions are odd of a mistress,——though possibly they may not prove her to have been a wife.

The reader will excuse a digression which casts some light on the character and behaviour of the mother of a man who figured so much in this reign, and involved so many in ruin, by his rashness, in the follow-

[a] Lord Sommers's Collection of Tracts, vol. I. p. 75. 4to. Lond. 1748.
[b] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 665. [c] Id. ib.

nations [26] in general, with the greatest ac-

ing.—Besides Mrs. Walter, Charles had two other mistresses whilst abroad: viz. Mrs. Elizabeth Killigrew, who brought him a daughter, who died in 1684; and Mrs. Catherine Peg, by whom he had a son, created earl of Plymouth, who was killed at Tangier in 1680. So amorous was the young monarch! so early did he shew that disposition to gallantry, for which, during life, he was so remarkable! It must be confessed, this was not among his worst faults:—his youth; his situation, which was a bar to a marriage suitable to his birth; his ill education; and the examples of other princes, who were seldom scrupulous on this head; plead somewhat in excuse for him: but as his amours and gallantries were low, and well known; it cannot be wondered that his adversaries held him in contempt, and were in little fear of him.

[26] Richard was received by foreign princes, the army, and the three nations.] What hopes were formed by the royalists on the death of Oliver, will be best learnt by part of a letter sent by Mr. Barwick to the king soon after.——"Though hitherto things," says he, "pass with some smoothness in the former channel, yet there is some underhand muttering already upon this point of his succession, which makes them dread the very name of a parliament, and yet they are upon the very point of being forced to call one for want of money. Their debts are great, and no other visible way of raysing any competent summe. Whether this be the cause, or his so tamely parting with the generalship of England at lest to Fleetwood, or both, of young Cromwell's melancholy, I know not; but sure it is, most men say he is sick; and yet those, that are likest to know the disease, say, it is chiefly to give

clamations. And to evidence their zeal

way to his councill to do what they please, which some of them like well enough. There was some confusion at Whitehall the night before Cromwells death, though closely conveyed. Some of the grandees, distrusting the place, removed their trunks out of the house. At least six hours before his death, the fifth monarchymen sent out their emissaries post into most parts of England, having notice how desperate his condition was. They speak their minds freely already, and have something a brewing in all likelihood. They have pitched upon Lambert for their general, and Harrison is content with the next command under him. Ever since old Cromwell had his eye upon the crown, he hath courted Lambert very much. One office he had was restored, with 2000*l.* arrears, and his estate was promised to be doubled from 3000*l.* per annum to six; and still they carry fair with him, and have sent him mourning against the funeral. The want of money makes them fall short of their first design of the funerall pageantry. At first they proposed to themselves the funeral of king James for their pattern, and intended to go beyond it; but second thoughts are wiser. If a parliament come, the fifth monarchy-men will cut them out work both in the house and field. They hope Fleetwood will be no bitter enemy; and give out as if they had Monck's army sure on their side, though not his person. If they have not learnt the *** of bragging, there may be some cause of fear they get the *** saddle, and ride us all; yet some of them say, your majesty will need no other sword but their own to make way to your throne, in case they clash in earnest; for the weaker party will espouse your majesty's cause, and that upon your own

on this occasion, addresses were every day

terms, rather than yeild to the other. I wish they may be true prophets. And I humbly crave leave to add, that some persons here, of good repute for wisdom and fidelity to your majesty, think this will be more fesible, if your own party be not too forward to ingage on either side; and seeing your majesty having now no visible force on foot, will make them more secure, and consequently the more likely to quarrel amongst themselves[a]." These kind of informations (which were not wholly without foundation) roused up Charles to think more closely of his affairs, and to endeavour to avail himself of the changes which might happen. With this view he writ what follows to the princess dowager of Orange.——"The alterations which are reasonably to be expected, as well in England as in the councils of princes and states on this side the sea, from Cromwells death and his sons succession to his usurpation, you may easily believe are the continual subject of my thoughts; and you can bear me witness, that my first reflexions were upon the States of the United Provinces, as my wishes now are, that they would see it be their true interest, that the government of my kingdoms should return, and that by their assistance, from so prodigious and unstable a tyranny, to that antient and rightful form, that it hath pleased God for our sins to interrupt by the marvellous success of perfidious rebels. That it is their true interest, is so manifest, that there can be no reason why they do not pursue it, but the difficulty they may apprehend to be in the work, or the mistrust that may have been infused to them of me by my enemies, or such as know me

[a] Thurloe, vol. VII. p. 415.

presented from the most respectable bodies not. But if all the ways of approaching and treating with them were not shut upon me, I could make it evident to them, that as no prince or state ever undertook a design of more lasting profit or glory, so there was never, in any action of much less importance, a more demonstrable facility. And I could make it no less evident to them, that as I have all imaginable reason to wish myself restored rather by them than by any other people but my own; so it is impossible for me to prove ungrateful after such a benefit, or to violate any the least part of what I shall engage myself to, without being as well the most foolish, as the most infamous person in the world. But I shall, in asking you a question, make it clear enough to you, that I cannot have so vile a thought as to make you the instrument of my deceit: I beseech you to let me know, whether your daughter, the princess Harriette, be so far engaged, that you cannot receive a proposition from me concerning her: and if she be not, that you would think of a way, how, with all possible secrecy, I may convey my mind in that particular to you[a]."———But the hopes of Charles, with respect to Holland, were as ill founded as those which regarded the young princess. He met with no success in either. The princess dowager of Holland civilly refused his alliance; and De Witt, who had the chief management of affairs in Holland, on hearing of Richard's succession, expressed much joy to Downing, the English resident, "that matters were so happily and quietly settled, and thereby such a disappointment to wicked men; enemies," as he said, "as well to them

[a] Ormonde's Papers, vol. II. p. 156.

of men, full of congratulations, and offers as England[a]." And on the 26th of September, 1658, N. S. the States General resolved, "that they would charge two of their company to go to the English residents house to condole with him about the decease of the lord protector; and then to congratulate about the succession and reception of the present lord protector, in the place of the lord his father, all with such compliments as befitt such an occasion[b]." France, with the same readiness, condoled and congratulated. Dr. Clarges, in a letter to Henry Cromwell, lord deputy of Ireland, dated London, Oct. 19, 1658, says, "The French ambassador had audience yesterday about three of the clock at Whitehall; he had a numerous train of gentlemen, all in mourning, to attend him, and was followed by eighty coaches. He told his highness (after the usual compliments of condoleing the death of his late highness), that his master commanded him in his name to offer to him the assistance of his councells and armies, to confirme him in the glories of his fathers conquests, and assist him against all the enemies of the peace of England at home and abroad. To which," adds the doctor (who was brother-in-law to Moncke) "his highness made a returne worthy of his own goodness and respect to so great a king, his friend and allye[c]."— The following account of Mr. Thurloe's will fully explain in what light both Richard and Charles stood, in the eyes of France and Spain also. "What pass'd between France and the son of [O]liver, was this. Monsieur de Bordeaux, by the direction of the king, let him know, in November or December, 1658, that

[a] Thurloe, vol. VII. p. 379. [b] Id. p. 393. [c] Id.

of standing by him with their lives and

he was very much pressed to treate with Spaine for a peace, both by his owne subjects, and by letters from his allyes; and that a treaty could not be avoided, yet nothing should be done therein without the consent of England. And therefore desired to know his mind upon this peace, assuring him, that in case he should find it for his interest to continue the war, that then France would make no peace; but if he was resolved to make a peace with Spaine, then he desired to know (if he thought fit) what the conditions were which England would expect, and France would insist upon them equally as for themselves; and offered to agree by a treaty, that neither England nor France should make any peace with Spaine without the consent of the other, desiring that all things in this treaty might be managed by joint counsells; and from time to time they communicated what passed between them and Pimontelli, and between their allyes, who daily prest them to this peace. The son of O. and his counsell inclined to the peace, but did not like to treate by the way of France; but that some neutral place might be agreed upon, where the ambassadors of the three states might meet after the conditions were understood, upon which the peace was to be made; and the court of France having signified hither, that Pimontelli had instruction to treat with England upon the conditions of the peace, and of all things relating thereunto, the English ambassador [Lockart], then at the French court, had directions to see his power, and desire a copy of them; that, in case they were such as gave satisfaction, he should be enabled to confer with him upon the particulars of a peace to be made between England and Spaine. The English ambassador accordingly had a

fortunes.——Nor did the nations, in alli-

copy of his powers; but the change of affairs in England hindered any further proceedings thereupon. About the same tyme that France signified hither their intentions to treate, and communicated Pimontelli's negotiation, there came over hither a person authorized from Brussels to try, whether there was any disposition in the government of England towards a peace with Spaine; and in case he found it, to speak with those who were nearly trusted in affairs about the conditions. The person, that came over, was spoke with by one of the councell, and having given some reasons to induce belief that he came trusted from the counsell of Brussels, desired to know whether there were sincere intentions in this government of making a peace with Spaine. And being answered, that they were, upon honourable terms, he said, he believed there would be no difference upon the conditions; and thereupon fell to discourse of some particulars; wherein he said, he understood the mind of Spaine, though he had no authority to make offer of any conditions. The particulars spoke of were Dunkirk, Jamaica, trade in the West Indies, the Inquisition, and the condition of his majesty of Great Britain [Charles] then in Flanders. For Dunkirk, he said, if money would not be taken for it, there would be no great difficulty in suffering the English to keep it. For Jamaica, he believed, that the king of Spain could not consent to have that in the English hands, in respect it would in time overthrow all the maxims he governed those parts by; but would give a considerable sum of money to England for it. And for the English trading there, that it could not be granted universally; but particular licences might be granted, not exceeding such a number. As to the

ance with Oliver, fail in the respect paid to

Inquisition, the usual articles could not be altered; but means might be found out to assure the English that they should not be troubled thereupon, which would answer the end. And as to the king of England, he should not live in Flanders or Spaine; but some other place, out of the Spanish dominions, might be thought of, where he might reside under an allowance of a pension from the king of Spaine, without giving any jealousy to England; concluding with this, that if upon this discourse the government here will send a person incognito to Madrid, to the court of Spaine, he had direction from the counsell at Brussels to goe with him; and doubted not but the conditions of the peace would soon be agreed upon, if it were intended on this side. This was at two conferences; but the affairs of England were such at home, as gave no opportunity to intend this affair [a]."

In this manner was Richard treated by Spain and France; the latter of which, in conjunction with Holland, entered into a treaty with him (drawn up in Latin, according to antient custom), May $\frac{1}{11}$, 1659, in order to prevent the spreading of the flames of war in the north [b]. It is very remarkable, that the point of honour was not yielded by Richard to the French king; but that the utmost care was taken of his dignity.——"I have not yet any directions," says Downing to Thurloe, Apr. 20, 1659, N.S. "from you what I shall do in relation to the order of setting his highness's name in this treaty; and for my own part, I shall not do any thing that may tend in the least to derogate from his highness's honor. The French ambas-

[a] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 769.

[b] See Ormonde's Papers, vol. II. p. 17..

sovereigns on these occasions. Compliments

sador hath much press'd that his highness may be put after the king of France in that part which I am to sign. I offered that I could sign one part for him and with him, in which the king of France should be before his highness, so as he would sign one part for me and with me, in which his highness should be before the king of France: but he refusing that, I have so ordered as that we will sign all to each of the parts of the accord or treaty, but that he alone shall sign that which he shall give me, and I alone sign that which I will give him; and so in which he signs he will put the king of France before his highness; and in that which I sign, I will put his highness before the king of France; and the States their deputies to sign alone the part which they are to give us, and therein to do as they use, which they say hath always been to put the king of France before the king of England. And thus have avoided putting my hand to any thing which might any ways derogate from his highness; and I have so ordered it as that the French ambassador and I have had no words about it; but that the business hath been managed by De Witte, and as if it had come of himself and not from me[a]."——It were to be wished that the same care had been taken in after-times to maintain the honour of the British crown; and that no advances had been made, or compliments paid, to any nation, France more particularly, which were inconsistent therewith.——Let us now see how things were at home. On the 3d of September, 1658, the day on which Oliver died, Richard was proclaimed in London in the following words. "Whereas it hath pleased the

[a] See Ormonde's Papers, vol. II. p. 169.

in profusion were made him by the ambas-

most wise God in his providence to take out of this world the most serene and renowned Oliver, late lord protector of this commonwealth: and his highness having in his life-time, according to the humble petition and advice, declared and appointed the most noble and illustrious the lord Richard, eldest son of his said late highness, to succeed him in the government of these nations; we therefore of the privy council, together with the lord mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London, the officers of the army, and numbers of other principal gentlemen, do now hereby, with one full voice and consent of tongue and heart, publish and declare the said noble and illustrious lord Richard to be rightful protector of this commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging: to whom we do acknowledge all fidelity and constant obedience, according to law and the said humble petition and advice; with all hearty and humble affections, beseeching the Lord, by whom princes rule, to bless him with long life, and these nations with peace and happiness under his government." This proclamation was signed by Chiverton, mayor; Lawrence, president; Fiennes, and Lisle; Fleetwood; Desborough; Mountague, afterwards lord Sandwich; Thurloe; lord Fauconberg; and many others of note in those times[a]. In most of the cities and chief towns in Great Britain and Ireland, the same proclamation was made, attended by the loud acclamations of the people.——Addresses soon followed from all parts. London, Bristol, York, paid their compliments of condolence and congratulation; and scarce

[a] Whitlock, p. 674.

sadors resident at his court, and every profession of respect which could testify the

a county or town of note in the kingdom, but made an offer of standing by the protector with their lives and estates. A short specimen of these addresses to Richard, as it may be acceptable to the reader, I will give, in the humble address of the knights and justices of the peace, gentlemen, ministers of the gospel, and other freeholders, of the county of Cambridge.

"Most humbly sheweth, That we do hereby from our hearts profess our deep sense of the loss of our late renowned protector, your highness's and this commonwealth's most tender father, whose memory still lives, and shall be for ever pretious with us and all good men to succeeding generations; and we also lift up the name of the great God in perpetual praise, that hath been pleased yet again to appear for us in blasting the hopes of those who expected our confusion by the sad stroke; but what they behold with sorrow (and as they have cause with shame) is beheld by us with comfort and rejoycing. And we do hereby solemnly, and from our hearts, most humbly declare our great joy and high satisfaction in the nomination and appointment of your highness to, and your acceptance of, the highest trust of protector, and chief magistrate of these nations, according to the petition and advice of the late parliament; whereby our hearts are filled with hopes, as well as with desires, that, in the management of this greatest trust, your highness will ever manifest a tender regard of promoting the honour of God, and good of this commonwealth, by countenancing and encouraging the profession and practice of piety; and also a like tender regard to maintain and preserve the

honour in which they held him. Nor did they rest here:—for in the intercourse held

just and dear-bought liberties of these nations, both religious and civil, which the most gratious God hath been pleased to inrich us with above all the nations upon earth, and therefore ought to be most dearly prized by us, wherein we hope the advice of your people in parliament will be ever aiding and assisting; and therefore most humbly desire may be by your highness accordingly entertained; and we do hereby most solemnly promise and engage ourselves, faithfully to serve and obey your most serene highness, as your liege people, in defence of your highness's person and government with our lives and estates.

"And shall continue to pray, that the God of your father, and our God, would double his spirit upon your highness, guide and prosper all your councils and undertakings for his own glory, with your highness and this commonwealths good. So hopes and prays your highness's most humble and faithful subjects and servants[a]."

The rest of the addresses were much in the same strain; which, as the addresses in after-times, though they seem to promise much, had little real meaning, and in times of trial were nothing to be relied on; as the event soon shewed.

Whilst we are on the subject of congratulations, it will not be improper to observe, that the Muses were not silent on Richard's accession. The same pens that rehearsed the praises of the late protector, were employed in pointing out the virtues of the successor,

[a] Mercurius Politicus, No. 545, p. 74.

between him and his allies, he had all the

and, which was the greatest thing that could be then said, equalling him to his father:

"Ecce! novus Cromvellus adest è funere patris,
Phœnix de phœnice novo reparabilis ævo.
Hic tua bella geret, pacem legèsque fovebit,
Ille reformatæ fidei tutela perennis
Regnabit, sacris præstabit & otia musis."

So sang Dr. Tuckney.

Mr. Preston, of Sydney college, Cambridge, wrote the following lines:

"Siste tuas tandem lacrymas, depone querelas,
Anglia: defunctum quid juvet iste dolor?
Sol tuus occubuit; verum nox nulla secuta est;
En! micat in medio filius orbe patris.
Disparere prior voluit, dum surgeret alter;
Quòd natura simul non sinit esse duos.
Ecce, patris genius nato, ac heroicus ardor!
Parte igitur moritur, sed meliore viget.
Vive diu felix, patriæ virtutis imago
Vive, decus magnum præsidiumque tuis.
I bone quò virtus tua te vocat, i pede fausto;
Dum feriat vertex sidera summa tuus.
Cingant usque tuos victricia serta capillos;
Denique sis similis patris ubique tui."

I will add but one more from the collection published on this occasion. It is anonymous.

"Scilicet, occubuit nuper lux Magna Britannis,
Cùm subito nobis tu nova stella venis!
Sic solitis radiis, discussa nube, refulget
Sol; ità luce nitet Cassiopeia novâ.
Auspice te, matris quid non speremus alumni?
Pro tanto quæ non fundere vota licet?
Nonne ea nos petimus superos, ut patris Olivæ
Floreat, & regnis usque fruare tuis:
Dum lucem Grantana dabit, dum pocula mater,
Dum perget solitas reddere Camus aquas[a]?

[a] Musarum Cantabrigiensium luctus & gratulatio. Cantab. Apud Field, 1658. 4to.

deference paid him which could be ex-

Were poets to be believed, how amiable, how excellent, how admirable, in all respects, must princes be! Unfortunately, however, their testimony is of little weight; and facts are regarded more than the sons of Parnassus. Princes should be careful, therefore, by good deeds and works of renown, to establish a reputation, and cause their names to live, when the works of flatterers will be no more in remembrance.

> "The muse full oft pursues a meteor fire,
> And, vainly ventrous, soars on waxen wing."
>
> MASON.

Let us now go on with the history.——The army, in whose hands the disposal of the government in fact was, as, where a large army is kept up, it almost always is, were not behind in their addresses to the new protector. Very soon after the death of Oliver, an address was presented by the officers of his highness's armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland. It is so remarkable, on many accounts, that, I believe, the reader will not be displeased to see the whole of it.——It follows:

"May it please your highness,

"When we consider how God, the great and wise disposer of all things, hath by a long continued series of providence carried on his work in these nations by the hands of several instruments, making it manifestly to prosper in the hands of all those that did heartily own his cause and people, but most remarkably and eminently in the hands of that man whom he had chosen, your deceased father, whose memory shall be blessed, and ever shall be had in particular remembrance amongst good men, as having been the great

pected by a powerful sovereign of a noble nation. And that nothing might be want-

assertor of the liberties of Gods people, an instrument to restore these nations to peace, a lover of their civil rights, and so indefatigable in his endeavours after reformation: the mentioning of whom, may well strike our hearts with unconceivable sorrow and abasement, to think that we by our sins have provoked the God of all our mercies, to give us such a stroke by taking from us the delight of our eyes, and, under God, the captain of his people, upon whom the eyes of foreign princes were fixed with reverence and expectation. O how gloriously did the Lord appear for and with him in the midst of his people, making the mountains to become a plain before him, and carrying him upon the wings of faith and prayer, above all difficulties and oppositions! How did the graces of Gods spirit evidently shine before him! In his army, he reckoned the choicest saints, his chiefest worthies: in his family those that were near and dear to God, were near and dear to him. His eyes were upon the faithful of the land; to relieve many, advance some, to protect and countenance all. In the things of God he had a tender and large heart, to love all the saints, though of different judgments; he had great acquaintance with the Lord, mighty in faith and prayer, which made him so constant and glorious a victor. Your highness, your armies, and people reap the benefit of his prayers and successes. But, alas! this our Moses (your dear and blessed father) the servant of the Lord is dead: and shall we not weep? Though we weep not for him, yet we cannot but weep for ourselves; we cannot but look after him, crying,

ing to crown his felicity, the army, and the parliament by him assembled, took the

Our father, our father, the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof. When we consider these things, we cannot but reverence the same providence, in bringing your highness to succeed him in the government, with so much serenity and general consent and approbation of the people, when the enemy so strenuously endeavours to promote distraction and division. And we cannot but hope, though it hath pleased the Lord sharply to rebuke us, yet he will not cast us off, nor withdraw his fatherly affections from us, but in our returnings he will give us rest; and will enable your highness to carry that good old cause and interest of God and his people upon your heart continually, and then he will carry you as upon eagles wings, above the malice and wicked machinations of ungodly men, to do valiantly in Israel, in the further enlarging of the kingdom of Jesus Christ; in maintaining the Christian liberty of all sober godly men, though of different opinions in some things, the defending of the civil rights of the whole people of these nations, and the reforming of all abuses. And more particularly, that we may lay open our hearts before you, we hope and pray that God will enable your highness to endeavour, that the armies which shall be thought fit to be kept up in the three nations, may be continued and kept under the command of such officers as are of honest godly principles, free to adventure all that is dear unto them, by all lawful ways and means to maintain an equal just liberty to all persons that profess godliness, that are not of turbulent spirits as to the peace of these nations, nor dis

oath of fidelity to him; and the latter voted to recognize and declare him lord protector and chief magistrate of the common-

turbers of others, though differing in some things from themselves, according to the true intent of the humble petition and advice. That the vacancies in your highness's councils and other places of public trust, be from time to time supplied and filled up with men of known godliness and sober principles; that they, with your highness and your army, may make it their work to carry the concernments of the godly in these nations, and the civil rights of the people thereof upon their hearts, with full purpose to maintain them; and that a work of reformation, tending to good life and manners, may be vigorously carried on by the hands of good magistrates; and those things that are oppressive and vexatious to the people may be suppressed; that the provision made for ejecting ignorant and insufficient ministers, and that for the approbation of ministers, tending to the bringing in of godly and able preachers into the several places in these nations, whereby poor and ignorant souls may be brought to the knowledge of the truth, may be owned and maintained in their power, according to the acts of parliament; and that any who shall discourage or discountenance good ministers in these nations, by encouraging loose and prophane persons to oppose and slight them for not admitting such as are loose and prophane to the sacraments, may be discountenanced and punished. In your prosecution whereof, we hope that God will assist us to make it known to your highness and all the world, that we aim at no private interest nor ends of our own, but that we shall be heartily

wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging[a].

and faithfully with you, as we have been with your father, to adventure our lives and all that is dear to us, to stand by you; these being the principles upon which we engaged with your blessed father, and were blessed of God in: and we trust God will direct your heart to be fixed and bottomed upon the same principles, which we are perswaded God will own you in, and bless us in standing by you against all that shall oppose you therein, or make it their design to change or alter the present government established in a single person, and two houses of parliament, according to the humble petition and advice, or shall endeavour the subversion thereof, or the disturbance of the peace of these nations. And we are confident you will have the concurrent help of the prayers and endeavours of the people of God, whereby your heart and hand will be strengthened to ride on prosperously, to the joy and rejoycing of all good men, and to the terror and disappointment of all your adversaries, when they shall perceive you inherit not only your fathers glory and authority, but also the hearts of his old faithful followers; and (which crowns all) the blessing of God your father: which that it may be continued unto you, and prosper you in all that you put your hand unto, is, and shall be, the continual prayers of

"Your highness's

"Most humble and loyal subjects[b]."

[a] Journal, Feb. 18. [b] Mercurius Politicus, No. 434, p. 844.

His reign, however, was but short. Animosities arose among those who were averse to the cause of Charles [27], and

This address was presented Sept. 18, 1658, by Fleetwood, attended by a great body of the officers; and, we are told, "his highness was pleased to make a return to each particular of the address, and in such language, as gave full evidence of his being the inheritor of his fathers princely wisdom, and of that affection which he bare to the nation in general, and the soldiery in particular; so that they all departed with very high satisfaction, and much assurance of enjoying a happy government[a]!"—Nor was this all:——A parliament being summoned to meet at Westminster, Jan. 17, 1558, O. S. every member of it took an oath, part of which was "to be true and faithful to the lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, as chief magistrate thereof; and not to contrive, design, or attempt any thing against the person, or lawful authority of the lord protector[b]."—— Thus firm, to every common eye, did Richard stand in the protectorate! So little ground, in appearance, had Charles to expect any thing from the death of Oliver! Clarendon owns, the king's condition never appeared so hopeless, so desperate, as at this time: for, adds he, "a more favourable conjuncture his friends could never expect than this; which now seem'd to blast all their hopes, and confirm their utmost despair[c]."

[27] Animosities arose among those who were averse

[a] Mercurius Politicus, No. 454, p. 874. [b] Journal of the House of Commons, vol. VII. p. 593. [c] Clarendon, vol. VI. p. 655.

broils were likely to ensue. Richard, therefore, whether through weakness or wisdom, quietly resigned the govern-

to the cause of Charles.] A calm state in a nation is generally esteemed a dangerous one; as it intimates great timidity, or deep design. Every thing, we have seen, looked well on Richard's side: but it was appearance only. Money was scarce: divisions were in the council: and the chief officers in the army, though nearly related to the protector, very soon began to give him much trouble and uneasiness. They desired that they might have a commander in chief under his highness: that no officer might be put out of his employment without a trial, according to the laws martial: and that the commander in chief might have power to give commissions to all inferior officers[a]. Richard, though far enough from being pleased with these proposals, made Fleetwood lieutenant-general of all the armies, and so in consequence commander in chief. This affair gave great uneasiness to the friends of Richard. Among others, we find Henry Cromwell, lord lieutenant of Ireland, in a letter to the protector, dated Oct. 20, 1658, complaining in the following manner: "If the account be true which I have received of the state of affairs in England, I cannot tell what to advise your highness upon this sad occasion, though I confess 'tis no more than I looked for. Only I had some hopes, it might have been prevented, by keeping all officers at their respective charges. But as things now stand, I doubt the flood is so strong, you can neither stem it, nor come to an anchor, but

[a] Thurloe, vol. VII. p. 436.

must be content to go adrift, and expect the ebb. I thought those whom my father had raised from nothing, would not so soon have forgot him, and endeavour to destroy his family, before he is in his grave. Why do I say I thought, when I know that ambition and affectation of empire never had any bounds? I cannot think these men will ever rest, till they are in the saddle; and we have of late years been so used to changes, that it will be but a nine days wonder. And yet I fear there is no remedy, but what must be used gradually, and *pedetentim*. Sometimes I think of a parliament; but am doubtful whether sober men will adventure to embark themselves, when things are in so high a distraction; or if they would, whether the army can be restrained from forcing elections. I know not what to advise at this distance, unless I could hear all the arguments pro and con, upon a true state of the case; yet I am almost afraid to come to your highness, lest I should be kept there, and so your highness lose this army, which, for ought I know, is the only stay you have, though I cannot but earnestly desire it. I do also think it dangerous to write freely to your highness, or for you to do it to me, unless by a messenger, that will not be outwitted, or corrupted; for I make no question, but that all the letters will be opened, which come either to or from your highness, which can be suspected to contain business[a]."——Lord Faucenberg was Henry's intelligencer.——A parliament, as we have seen, was called; though with great fears of the event. However, as much application and industry was used by the court, the returns, for the most part, were not disagreeable.—This parliament, which was composed of members chosen for England, Scotland,

[a] Thurloe, vol. VII. p. 453.

and Ireland; and the other house, or house of lords, instituted by Oliver; though favourable to Richard, did not promote his interests and designs, or, to speak more properly, the interests and designs of his ministers, with that zeal and unanimity which was expected from them. The majority were staunch and to be depended on;——but among them were many able men, disposed to embroil matters as much as possible. These were of different principles. Royalists, consisting of the cavalier and presbyterian parties: and republicans, who had stood steady to their principles, and hated any thing resembling a monarchical state. These latter, having much experience, and excelling in the arts of government, suffered not a question to be carried by the courtiers without great opposition; and they soon gained so high a reputation in the house, that they were heard with attention and respect. For truth and eloquence, in conjunction, seldom fail of effect in popular assemblies, where men may be supposed to be in some degree uninfluenced by prejudice or self-interest. However, the court party almost always prevailed: so that, as Ludlow, who was a member, tells us, "all that could be done was only to lengthen out their debates, and to hang on the wheels of the chariot, that they might not be able to drive so furiously. By this means time was gained to infuse good principles into divers young gentlemen, who before had never been in any public assembly, in hopes that, though for the present their previous engagement should carry them against us, yet upon mature deliberation they might discover where their true interest lay. Neither were our endeavours without success. For having frequently held the house nine or ten days in debate before they could come to a question, many gentlemen, who came to Westminster prepossessed in favour of the court, confessed

that the reasons of the commonwealth party were so cogent, that they were not able to resist them [a]."

But, had the parliament been continued, Mr. Bethel, who was also a member, very plainly tells us, "the opposition to Richard would have been ineffectual. All that the country party could do (though they shewed such abilities, industry, and affection to their country, as is worthy for ever to be remembered) was to keep off slavery for a small time (in hopes that God would send deliverance) without power of doing any more good, than in sometimes getting a qualifying word into a question: for had the parliament sat longer, the country party could not have preserved the liberties of the nation many weeks longer from the ruine that the courtiers had designed [b]."—Whilst the parliament were debating about the house of lords, as constituted by Oliver; the form and manner of recognizing Richard; and many other affairs of high importance;—a humble representation and petition of the general council of officers of the armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland, was presented to the protector; in which, in very strong terms, they represented their fears, their dangers, and their distresses for want of pay: and, in conclusion, added, "We humbly pray, that your highness, taking into your serious consideration the sad condition of the armies, and danger of the nations, both from the great want of pay and the activity of our common enemy, will be pleased to represent these things, which we have herein laid before your highness, to the parliament, with our humble desire and prayer that a speedy supply be made for the armies; that their past arrear may be satisfied, and care taken for

[a] Ludlow, vol. II. p. 624. 8vo. [b] Brief Narrative of the Parliament, called by Richard Cromwell, at the end of his Interest of Princes. Lond. 1689.

their constant future pay, so long as it shall be thought fit to continue them; as also that satisfaction be given to the militia forces; and that there may be such a public asserting of our good old cause, and justification and confirmation of all proceedings in prosecution and maintenance thereof, and declaration against its enemies, as may, for the future, deter all persons from speaking or attempting any thing to the prejudice thereof, or of the persons that have acted in prosecution of it, and afford present security to the civil and religious rights and liberties of these nations, and the peace thereof; and that the liberty of good and well-affected people, in repairing with freedom to their meetings, for the worship of God (of late much violated by inditing and imprisoning many of their persons), may be still asserted and vindicated[a]." This petition being looked on as a kind of threatening to the court, it produced the following resolutions in parliament, Ap. 18, 1659.

"Resolved, &c. That, during the sitting of the parliament, there shall be no general council or meeting of the officers of the army, without the direction, leave, and authority of his highness the lord protector, and both houses of parliament.

"Resolved, &c. That no person shall have or continue any command or trust in any of the armies or navies of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or any of the dominions or territories thereto belonging, who shall refuse to subscribe, that he will not disturb nor interrupt the free meetings in parliament of any of the members of either house of parliament, or their freedom in their debates and counsels.

"Resolved, &c. That the concurrence of the other

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XXI. p. 344.

house, be desired to these votes: and that Mr. John Stevens do carry the same to the other house for their concurrence.

"Resolved, &c. That the house will take into consideration, to-morrow morning, how the arrears of the armies and navies may be speedily satisfied[a]."

These were bold votes, as matters were circumstanced: but as the army had thought fit to dictate, nothing remained for the parliament but to shew their dissatisfaction, and to declare the unreasonableness of such proceedings. The chief officers of the army were soon informed of what had passed in the house, and determined to be revenged. For which purpose, Desbrowe went to the protector, and told him, "if he would dissolve his parliament, the officers would take care of him; but that if he refused so to do, they would do it without him, and leave him to shift for himself[b]."—Richard hereupon "advised with the lord Broghill, Fiennes, Thurloe, Wolsey, Whitlock, and some others, whether it were not fit to dissolve the present parliament; most of them were for it; I," says Whitlock, "doubted the success of it, and wished a little longer permission of their sitting, especially now they had begun to consider of raising money, whereby they would engage the soldiery; but most were for the dissolving of the parliament, in regard of the present great dangers from them, and from the cavaliers who now flocked to London, and underhand fomented the divisions[c]."——The parliament, accordingly, was dissolved April 22, 1659, and the soldiery became soon masters; who very soon discarded Richard, and published a declaration, inviting the members of the long parliament, who continued sitting till April 20th,

[a] Journal. [b] Ludlow, vol. II. p. 641. [c] Memorials, p. 677.

1659, to return to the exercise and discharge of their trust.—What relates farther to Richard will be found in the note following.—Mountague's [afterwards lord Sandwich] account of the overthrow of Richard's government will be no improper supplement to what is before related.——"I have spoken," says he, "with one who was at London in the most intimate councils about pulling down Richard, and am assured that general Moncke was applied to in Scotland to stick unto Richard, and was offered to have twenty thousand pounds *per annum* settled upon him; and he would not be engaged, but sent word, that the said revenue would do Richard more good than his sticking to him. Further I am assured, that notwithstanding the above-said, yet Richards party wanted not power to have suppressed Fleetwood and Desbrowe, and over-ruled the army; but then it must have been by the lord Falconberg, the earl of Carlisle, myself, colonel Ingoldsby, and others, who they thought would certainly bring in the king; which at that time they chose to shift off to the very last extremity. Then they let in Vane and Haselrigge, Nevil, and other commonwealths men, upon fair promises from them not to overturn the government; but they proved perfidious, and brought in the Rump; which inconvenience might have been prevented, if Richard had not dissolved, but prorogued his parliament, for a few months. For that parliament had much of the interest of the nation in it: and though the Rump should have got into the saddle, yet that parliament interest would have procured it to meet again in despight of all opposition. So as the dissolving that parliament is held the great and fundamental error of that alteration of government[a]."

[a] MS. Journal of Sir Edward Mountague, in Sept. 1659. fol.

ment[25], and thereby prevented the effu-

[25] Richard, through weakness or wisdom, resigned the government.] The members of the long parliament, who formed the commonwealth government, and performed deeds of renown superior to any government that was before them in Britain, upon the invitation of Fleetwood, returned to their house, and applied themselves, in their wonted manner, to the business of the nation. Among these, as well as among the officers of the army, who had taken on them to pull down and set up, the family of Oliver had some friends, who thought it but reasonable that a handsome allowance should be given them by the state, in acknowledgment of his merits, and their own deserts from the commonwealth. General Moncke, in a letter, signed by himself, and the chief officers of the army in Scotland, written to general Fleetwood, to be communicated to the general council of officers at Wallingford-house, says, "Seeing his late highness [Richard] hath been pleased to manifest soe much self-deniall and love to his country, in appearing for the interest hereof against his owne, in this great day of change, we earnestly intreat you that you will use your endeavours, with affectionate care and industry, that himself and family (together with her highness dowager) may have soe honourable a provision settled upon them, and such other dignities, as are suitable to the former great services of that familie to these nations[a]." And the officers of the English army, at a meeting with some leading members of parliament, in order to their re-establishment in the government, having "proposed that some provision of power might be made for Mr.

[a] Thurloe, vol. VII. p. 669.

sion of blood, and the calamities of his

Richard Cromwell, as well as for the payment of his debts, and future subsistence in a plentiful manner, they having promised to take care of him in these particulars;" it was agreed by the members present, "that those debts which he had contracted on the public account should be paid, that so he might be enabled to subsist comfortably, though they would by no means consent to continue any part of his late assumed power[a]." In conformity to this agreement, was "referred by the parliament of the commonwealth of England, May 16, 1659, to the members of parliament that are of the committee of safety, to take into consideration the present condition of the eldest son of the late lord general Cromwell; and to inform themselves what his estate is; and what his debts are; and how they have been contracted; and how far he doth acquiesce in the government of this commonwealth, as it is declared by this parliament; and to offer upon the whole, what they conceive expedient in his behalf to the parliament[b]."

Accordingly, on the 25th of the same month, Sir Gilbert Pickering acquainted the house, that he, and the lord chief justice St. John, did, according to the command of the house, repair to the eldest son of the late lord general Cromwell; and acquainted him with the sense of the house, touching his subscribing a paper sent by him to a committee formerly appointed to communicate to him a declaration and order of the house; and that he did thereupon, in their presence, sign the said paper with his name; and pre-

[a] Ludlow, vol. II. p. 646. [b] Journal.

people.—[a]—The commonwealth govern-

sented the said paper to the house, subscribed Richard Cromwell.

The said paper was read; and also a schedule [a], containing a true state of his debts; and how they were contracted. The paper was as followeth: "I have perused the resolve and declaration, which you were pleased to deliver to me the other night; and for your information touching what is mentioned in the resolve, I have caused a true state of my debts to be transcribed and annexed to this paper: which will shew what they

[a] By this schedule it appeared, that when Oliver died,

| | L. | S. | D. |
|---|---|---|---|
| he owed - - - - - - - - - | 28000 | 0 | 0 |
| Since which Richard had reduced it to - - - | 23550 | 0 | 0 |
| And had advanced to the soldiers, for clothing, &c. - | 3700 | 0 | 0 |
| And borrowed, on his personal security, for the supply of Dunkirk, - - - - - - - - - | 6090 | 0 | 0 |
| Sum total, | 29640 | 0 | 0 |
| His real estate was (including 3201*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* per annum, settled on his brother Henry upon marriage; and 1200*l.* per annum, settled for security of 15000*l.* for a portion to his sister Frances), per annum, - - - - - - - - - | 7319 | 10 | 1 |
| Out of which there was payable, yearly, to his mother, - - - - - - - - - - | 2000 | 0 | 0 |
| And several annuities, to the amount of - - - | 818 | 0 | 0 |
| So that there remained clear to him, per annum, - | 2818 | 0 | 0 |

Which was incumbered with a debt of 3000*l.* contracted in his father's life-time, and then unpaid. *Journal.*

N. B. The miscasting in the debts is in the Journal.

[e] We may judge, by this, that Oliver had not been very intent on enriching his family; since, doubtless, double his wealth has been amassed, since his time, by men sprung from the dunghill, in many departments of government.

ment, consisting of those members of the

are, and how they have been contracted. As to that part of the resolve, whereby the committee are to inform themselves, how far I do acquiesce in the government of this commonwealth, as it is declared by this parliament; I trust, my past carriage hitherto hath manifested my acquiescence in the will and disposition of God; and that I love and value the peace of this commonwealth much above my own concerns: and I desire that by this a measure of my future deportment may be taken; which, through the assistance of God, shall be such as shall bear the same witness; having, I hope, in some degree, learned rather to reverence and submit to the hand of God, than to be unquiet under it: and as to the late providences that have fallen out amongst us, however, in respect to the particular engagements that lay upon me, I could not be active in making a change in the government of these nations; yet, through the goodness of God, I can freely acquiesce in it, being made; and behold myself obliged, as (with other men) I expect protection from the present government, so to demean myself with all peaceableness under it; and to procure, to the uttermost of my power, that all, in whom I have any interest, do the same.

"RICHARD CROMWELL."

"Hereupon the parliament declared, that they did accept in good part, what is expressed in the said paper; and in testimony thereof did put in oblivion, all matters past in reference to the said Richard Cromwell; and did take upon them his just debts; and did think fit that he retire from Whitehall, and dispose of himself as his private occasions might require, in a peace-

house of commons, who had been turned

able demeanour of himself, under the protection of the parliament. Two thousand pounds were ordered also forthwith to be advanced for his present occasions; and it was referred to a committee, to consider what was fit to be done as to a settlement of a comfortable and honourable subsistence for him [a]." The committee appointed delivered their opinion, July 6th, "that the present clear yearly value of the said Richard Cromwell (which according to the schedule presented in parliament amounts to one thousand two hundred ninety nine pounds, over and above the jointure and annuities mentioned in the said schedule) be made up unto him ten thousand pounds *per annum*, during his life: and in order thereto, that the sum of eight thousand seven hundred pounds *per annum* be settled upon the said Richard Cromwell, during his life, for his subsistence, to be issued and paid unto him monthly, by equal portions, out of the proceed or revenue of the letter or packet-office; and that the whole revenue of the said office be charged with the due payment of the same:

"That lands of inheritance, of the value of five thousand pounds *per annum*, of the lands in the dispose of the commonwealth of England or Ireland, be settled upon the said Richard Cromwell, and his heirs, in fee:

"That when lands of inheritance, of the value of five thousand pounds *per annum*, be settled upon the said Richard Cromwell, and his heirs, according to the purport of the next precedent vote; and that the said Richard Cromwell be in the actual possession thereof; that then the sum of five thousand pounds *per annum*,

[a] Journal.

out by Cromwell, after having, by deeds

part of the said sum of eight thousand seven hundred *per annum*, be charged upon the packet-office (according to the fore-recited vote of this committee), be abated; and the said office thereof discharged for the future:

"That the first monthly payment of the said yearly sum of eight thousand seven hundred pounds, to be charged on the said packet-office, according to the precedent votes, amounting to the sum of seven hundred twenty-five pounds, to be paid unto the said Richard Cromwell, upon the 6th of June last, 1659, for one month, commencing the 6th day of May last, and ending the said 6th day of June; and the said monthly payments to continue payable upon every sixth day of every month for the future, according to the purport of the said former votes:

"That as the jointures and annuities in the said schedule mentioned shall abate, by the decease of any of the respective persons to whom the same are respectively payable, whereby the income of the real estate of the said Richard Cromwell shall be increased, the said yearly charge of eight thousand seven hundred pounds, to be settled upon the said office for his subsistence, be proportionably abated.

"Resolved, That the debt stated, and undertaken to be paid, by the parliament, for Richard Cromwell, eldest son of the late lord general Cromwell, be twenty nine thousand six hundred and forty pounds.

"Ordered, That the said debt be satisfied by sale of the plate, hangings, goods, and furniture in Whitehall and Hampton Court, belonging to the state, which may conveniently be spared: and that the same be forthwith sold, for payment thereof, accordingly.

of peace and war, carried the glory of the

"Ordered, That Mr. Ralegh [son and heir of Sir Walter], colonel Dove, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Scot, Mr. Dormer, be added to the committee, to examine what goods in Whitehall, Hampton Court, &c. belonged to the state: and that the said committee have further power to examine upon oath; and also to examine what goods there were bought with the states money.

"Ordered, That it be referred to the said committee, to bring in an act for sale of the said plate, hangings, goods, and furniture, in Whitehall, and Hampton Court, for payment of the said debt of twenty-nine thousand six hundred and forty pounds accordingly.

"Resolved, That the said Richard Cromwell shall be, and is hereby, acquitted, and absolutely discharged, from payment of the said debt of twenty nine thousand six hundred and forty pounds, and every part thereof, and of and from all actions, suits, and demands, for or by reason thereof, by the creditors; and that the state will satisfy the persons to whom the same is due.

"Ordered, That it be referred to the aforesaid committee, to take a true survey of the mannors and lands of the eldest son of the late lord general Cromwell; and to examine the true value thereof; and report the same, together with the act for sale of the plate and goods appointed to be sold, on Thursday morning next: and that the said committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records: and that colonel White, Sir Henry Mildmay, Mr. Say, and colonel Rich, be added to that committee[a]."

[a] Journal.

English name to the greatest height, by

The late protector, however, by reason of the after-changes, was nothing the better for these resolutions. Richard, by reason of his quiet resignation, and submission to the parliament, has been treated as a man "without spirit to discern what was best for him;" as "extreamly pusillanimous:" in fine, as "a fool and a sot:" by such men as lord Clarendon[a], and his copyists. ——But, in the name of common sense, what was there weak or foolish in laying down a burthen too heavy for the shoulders? What in preferring the peace and welfare of men, to blood and confusion, the necessary consequences of retaining the government? Or what, in a word, in resigning the power to such, as, by experience, had been found fully equal to it, and intent on promoting the common welfare? Ambition, glory, fame, sound well in the ears of the vulgar; and men, excited by them, have seldom failed to figure in the eyes of the world; but the man who can divest himself of empire for the sake of his fellow men, must, in the eye of reason, be entitled to a much higher renown, than the purpled hero, who leads them on to slaughter, though provinces or kingdoms are gained to him thereby.

"Ambition, cease: the idle contest end:
'Tis but a kingdom thou canst win or lose.
And why must murder'd myriads lose their all,
(If life be all) why desolation lour,
With famish'd frown, on this affrighted ball,
That thou may'st flame the meteor of an hour?"

MASON.

Dr Calamy tells us, "that when a friend of his signified, in a way of free discourse, to Mr. Howe (who

[a] Clarendon, vol. VI. p. 659, &c.

the invitation of Fleetwood and the general

had been chaplain to Oliver and Richard, and was a man of sense and learning), that he had heard Richard reflected on as a weak man; he [Howe], with some warmth, made this return: How could he be a weak man, when upon the remonstrance that was brought from the army by his brother Fleetwood, he stood it out all night against his whole council, and continued the debate till four o'clock in the morning, having none but Thurloe to abet him; maintaining that the dissolving that parliament, would be both his ruin and theirs! Upon some farther discourse on the same subject, Mr. Howe told my friend, that Fleetwood undertook with great solemnity, that if Richard would but comply with the proposal that was made him, the army should not do him the least damage. And he added, that when Fleetwood was afterwards put in mind of this, all the answer he return'd was, that he thought he had had more interest in the army than he found he had. And Mr. Howe farther added, that accidentally meeting with major general Berry, who was in these times so active and busy, sometime after the restoration, when he was but in very mean circumstances, he very freely told him, with tears running down his cheeks, that if Richard had but at that time hanged up him, and nine or ten more, the nation might have been happy[a]."——Mr. Maidstone describes "Richard as a worthy person indeed, of an obliging nature and religious disposition, giving great respect to the best of persons, both ministers and others; and having to his lady a prudent, godly, practical Christian. His entrance," says he, "into the government, was with

[a] Life of Howe, p. 25. 8vo. Lond. 1724.

officers, now again took place, and was

general satisfaction; having acceptation with all sorts of people, and addresses from them importing so much. It was an amazing consideration to me (who, out of the experience I had of the spirits of the people, did fear confusion would be famous Oliver's successor) to see my fears so confuted; though, alas! the sin of England soon shewed, that they were not vain fears. For in a short time, some actings in the army appeared tending to divest the protector of the power of it. This bred some jealousy and unkindness betwixt him and the officers of it; but it was allayed, and things looked fayre again. About this time writs were sent out to summons a parliament, which accordingly sat down in March following. The power of the protector, and that of the other house, was instantly controverted in the house of commons, which house consisted of a tripartite interest, viz. the protector's, the commonwealth's (as it was so called by some, though groundlessly enough), and Charles the king of Scots; each party striving to carry an end their own design, syding one while with one, another while with another obstructed settlement, and acted nothing but what tended to leave religion and sobriety naked of protection. The vigilant army observed this, and disposed themselves to prevent this growing evil: in order to it, keep general councils, publish remonstrances, and make addresses. The parliament, fearing the co-ordinacy (at least) of a military power with the civil, forbid the meetings of the army. The army resent this so ill, as by a violent impression they prevail with the protector to dissolve the parliament. This he did *animo tam reluctanti*, that he could not conceal his repentance of it, but it breake out upon all occasions. The army observing it, re-

submitted to and acknowledged. Insur-

flected on him as a person true to the civil interest, and not fixed to them; and the officers keeping general councils, in a few days resolve to depose him, and restore the members of parliament dissolved by the first protector, in the year 1653, to the exercise of their government again, in order (as they ridiculously stiled it) to the settling of a commonwealth[a]."——"Richard lived, privately, more than fifty years after his abdication; and died at Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, July 12, 1712, in the 90th year of his age: and as he had done hurt to nobody, so nobody did ever study to hurt him, by a rare instance of the instability of human greatness, and of the security of innocence[b]."———I cannot conclude this note without adding, that Henry Cromwell, lord lieutenant of Ireland, though indisputably a man of sense and address, who commanded an army by whom he was beloved, was possessed of like sentiments with the protector; and therefore, on the first notice, attended the parliament, to whom he had before quietly resigned, and betook himself to privacy and retirement, the usual resort of the wise, the disappointed, or the unhappy. Part of his resignation I will transcribe, as it conveys an idea of his true disposition.—"I now think it time," says he, "(least a longer suspense should beget prejudiciall apprehensions in the minds of any), to give you this accompt, viz. that I acquiesce in the present way of government, although I cannot promise soe much affection to the late changes, as others very honestly may. For my own part, I can say, that I believe God was present in many of your administrations, before you were last in-

[a] Thurlo vol. I. p. 766. [b] Burnet, vol. I. p. 2.

rections, indeed, were planned in behalf

terrupted, and may be soe again; to which end I hope that those worthy persons, who have lately acknowledged such their interrupting you in the year 1653 to have been their fault, will by that sence of their impatience be henceforth engaged to doe so no more, but bee the instruments of your defence, whilst you quietly search out the ways of our peace; which stability and freedom, when the Lord shall restore unto you, will much subdue the hearts of all peaceably minded persons to your authority. The fower yeers experience I have had of your army heere [Ireland] (even under those tryalls, which have provoked others) gives me just ground to assure you of their concurrence with their brethren in England, in the way of obeying and defending, rather than of directing or awing you. I say, for my own part, I had an honourable opinion of the government you are now returned unto before its discontinuance; and yet I must not deny, but that the free submission which many worthy, wise, and conscientious persons yeilded to the late government under a single person (by several ways as well reall as verball) satisfied me also in that forme. And whereas my father (whom I hope you yett looke upon as no inconsiderable instrument of these nations freedome and happiness), and since him my brother, were constituted chiefe in those administrations, and that the returning to another forme hath been looked upon as an indignity to those my nearest relations; I cannot but acknowledge my owne weakness as to the sudden digesting thereof, and my owne unfitness to serve you in the carrying on your further superstructures upon that basis. And as I cannot promote any thing which inferrs the diminution of my late fathers

of Charles[29]; but they terminated only in the overthrow of such as appeared in them.

honor and merit; soe I thank the Lord, for that hee hath kept me safe in the great temptation, wherewith I have beene assaulted to withdraw my affection from that cause wherein he lived and died. I have a tenderness to peace, which (as I conceive depending rather on the worthiness of governors than formes of government) renders me content to wait upon Providence in the expectation of that mercy, being ready to yeild up my charge to any whom you shall send to receive itt; and beseeching the Lord to bee your mighty counsellor, and prince of peace, I remain, &c.

"H. CROMWELL[a]."

[29] Insurrections were planned in behalf of Charles, but they terminated only in the overthrow of such as appeared in them.] "The return of the government into these mens hands again," says Clarendon, "seemed to be the most dismal change that could happen, and to pull up all the hopes of the king by the roots[b]." And well, indeed, it might: for they instantly fell to business, and began to place the army and navy in such a condition as to render themselves respectable to all, as in times past. They were also acknowledged, by the commanders of the armies in the three kingdoms, as the supreme authority, and, as such, had addresses made them by the chief princes and states in Europe. And to settle and quiet the minds of men, a bill was ordered to be brought in for indemnity and oblivion; and it was moreover resolved, that the liberty of persons, and property of the estates, of all the free

[a] Thurloe, vol. VII. p. 681. [b] Clarendon, vol. VI. p. 641.

The hopes of the royalists hereupon seemed to be, more than ever, blasted; but their

people of these nations, shall be maintained, preserved, and kept inviolable, according to law; under the government of a free state and commonwealth, without a single person, or house of lords. Moreover, that there shall be such a just and due regulation of the law, and courts of justice and equity, as that they shall be a protection, and not vexatious or oppressive, to the people of these nations. And that all persons, who profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit of God, coequal with the Father and the Son, One God blessed for ever; and do acknowledge the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the revealed or written word or will of God; shall not be restrained from their profession, but have due encouragement, and equal protection, in the profession of their faith and exercise of religion; whilst they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others, or disturbance of others in their way of worship; so that this liberty be not extended to popery or prelacy, nor to such as shall practise or hold forth licentiousness or profaneness under the profession of religion: and that all laws, statutes, or ordinances, to the contrary, shall be declared null and void.

It was further resolved, that a godly, faithful, and painful gospel-preaching ministry, shall be every where encouraged, countenanced, and maintained.

That the universities, and schools of learning, shall be so countenanced and reformed, as that they may become the nurseries of piety and learning.

That to the end the legislative authority of this commonwealth may not, by their long sitting, become

enemies did that for them, which they

burthensome or inconvenient, there shall be effectual provision made for a due succession thereof[a]."——Accordingly, Mr. Scobel, late clerk to the house, was ordered to search for a former ingrossed act, for a new representative of the people, which was passed under the protectorate of Oliver[b], though originally projected, to their great honour, by this parliament. Whilst these things were in action for the good of the people, the government was alarmed with accounts of insurrections intended throughout the nation. They had one design, which was to introduce the King of Scots, and restore the ancient government; though they endeavoured to conceal it under popular pretences. Sir George Booth (the only man who put in execution his part of the scheme for a general insurrection), in a letter, dated August the 2d, and printed and dispersed throughout the kingdom at that time, gives the reason of this engagement in the following manner:—"Though the indifference that lies upon other mens spirits might flat ours, yet we cannot think, but if it were represented unto them, how the present power doth oblige us to put out our right eyes when they require us to acknowledge them as a parliament, and lay upon us such heavy and grievous burdens, and such deceitful ones as a year tax in three months, besides the many other impositions of excise, &c. and by raising among us a militia, they cut off our right hand by subjecting us under the meanest and fanatic spirits of the nation, under pretence of protection, their spirits would be warmed into the same zeal that ours are kindled with. Now consider, what it is we ask; and consider, whe-

[a] See Journal, May, 1659. [b] See vol. III. note 41.

were incapable of doing for themselves.

ther it be not the same thing we have asserted with our lives and fortunes, a free parliament? And what a slavery is it to our understanding, that these men, that now call themselves a parliament, should declare it an act of illegality and violence in the late aspiring general Cromwell to dissolve their body in 1653, and not to make it the like in the garbling the whole body of the parliament from 400 to 40, in 1648; what is this but to act what they condemn in others? Why do they associate themselves to the present army, or, indeed, to the present commanders in chief, and keep out their numerous and fellow-members, if committing violence upon a parliament be so notorious a crime? And how do they teach the soldiers boldly to do that which themselves practice, and make them instruments of? What is this but, under another shape, to overact the condemned acts of usurpation and tyranny in their old general? What is this but to necessitate men to complain? And, upon complaint, to be invaded by their power, so to raise (if the English spirits be not dissolved into baseness and aptitude for slavery) a civil war, and to endeavour to water their own root with the blood of many thousands of their countrymen, or to gape after those confiscations, which, by a victory, upon the presumption of the unity of their army, they hope to gain over all those that dare, with danger, assert their liberties; which presumption may yet fail them; for the soldier hath and may declare himself no mercenary, but an English freeman; which, indeed, tho' it be now contrary to his actions, may return to his thoughts again. And what will be the issue of all this? A mean and schismatical party must depress the nobility and under-

standing commons; the land must waste itself; and foreigners, or others, must take the advantage of all. I dare say, I profess for myself and the greatest part with me, we have no aspect but this singly; that we be not possessed as waste ground is, only by the title of occupancy, or that the next that gets into the saddle ride us. Let the nation freely chuse their representatives, and they as freely sit, without awe or force of soldiery; and whatever in such an assembly is determined, shall be by us freely and chearfully submitted unto. If this satisfy you, I am glad of it; for you are my noble friend. I use it not as artifice, either to engage you or make other counties follow our example; which if they do not, let their posterity judge of their actions and ours: for we are born for our country; and our country, our religion, and our lives, are in danger, and we will not be unconcerned. But we are peaceful and faithful in the land; and if they in authority will decline hostility, and agree of a means to admit the old members of both houses, or to call a new free parliament, let him be, and he only is truly, a traytor that resolves not his judgment and obedience into their determinations [a]."——If the reader will compare this with lord Clarendon's [b] account of Booth's declaration, he will see what a happy talent his lordship had at invention.—The admission of the old members of both houses, or the calling of a new and free parliament, were popular topics. They had the shew of much justice and equity; and were acceptable to the body of the people, who looked on the exclusion, in 1648, as a tyrannical and unjust act, and incapable of a proper justification: but, at the same time, it must be

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XXIII. p. 170. [b] Clarendon, vol. VI. p. 678.

confessed, the petition for their restoration was nothing more, nor less, than requesting the commonwealth governors to destroy themselves, by giving up their power into the hands of those who would not fail to use it against them. Besides,—the excluded members being presbyterians for the most part, were violently addicted to the royal cause, and were intent on restoring the exiled prince: a calamity this, in the eyes of the present parliament, of all others, the most dreadful; as it seemed to include in it the subversion of that liberty for which they had so gloriously and successfully fought: the re-establishment of arbitrary power in the state: and tyranny over the consciences of men, whether the church fell under the direction of prelates or presbyters. The parliament, indeed, were but too well acquainted with their actions and designs, to be imposed on by fair speeches: for on the 9th of August, 1659, sir James Harrington reported in the house, from the council of state, "that as well by letters, as messengers express, that are come out of Cheshire, the council hath certain information, that Charles Stuart, by the name of Charles the Second, hath been proclaimed at Wrexham, a market town, and other places, near Chester: and that many of the cavaliers in the first war are joined with sir George Booth, in the late insurrection; and do already fall to their wonted profane courses of drinking healths openly to Charles Stuart upon the bare knees, and declare themselves in the principles of the old cavaliers, whatever other disguises for the present are put upon their design, to the misguiding of many good people[a]." We are not to wonder, therefore, that, instead of complying with these demands, a body of soldiers were sent

[a] Journal.

to quell the insurgents, and restore the public tranquillity. This was easily done: for, though many had made promises of rising in various parts of the kingdom on the same day with sir George Booth; yet, as I have just observed, they all failed, and left him alone to fight it out with Lambert, whom the parliament appointed general of the forces sent against him. The country were much in his interest; but the men who joined him were raw and unexperienced: the commanders unskilful; and ammunition scarce: so that when they engaged with the parliament forces at Namptwich, many of them had no match, others no ball. So that, according to lord Mordaunt's account, "the battle was never fought; for the foot saved themselves in the inclosures, and the horse trotted away: which," adds he, "is the civilest term for it[a]." Lambert's account is far from being so disadvantageous to Booth's men, as Mordaunt's.——He tells the speaker, in a letter giving an account of his victory, "that the horse on both sides performed like Englishmen; but ours got the better, and the enemy turned their backs. We had the pursuit of them above a quarter of a mile, where they again made head, but were routed; whereupon their horse and foot fled on all hands, and our work was only to give them chase.—Lambert had but one man killed, and not above three dangerously wounded. Booth had about thirty slain, and three hundred made prisoners[b]." Booth was soon after taken, and committed to the Tower for high treason; and it was "resolved, that no person be suffered to speak with him, without leave of the parliament, or

[a] Ormonde's Papers, vol. II. p. 199. [b] The lord Lambert's Letter to the Right Hon. the Speaker of the Parliament, concerning the Victory of the Commonwealth Forces over the Rebels under Sir George Booth. 4to. Lond. Printed for Tho. Newcomb, 1659

by their direction; and that he be kept from having the use of pen, ink, or paper. It was also ordered, that Vane and Hasilrig should repair to the Tower, and examine him[a]." On the suppression of this rebellion, as the journals style it, a declaration was published to invite the good people of these nations to give thanks to the Lord, for his unspeakable mercy for this great deliverance: an act was reported for seizing and sequestering the estates of persons in the late rebellion: and Lambert was authorized and required to seize and secure all the arms and ammunition in Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, and parts adjacent, of all such persons as have not assisted to suppress the rebellion. A proclamation was also issued out against such persons as were suspected to have been engaged in, or privy to, any of the intended insurrections[b]. In pursuance hereof, the duke of Bucks, the lords de la Ware, Oxford, and Falkland, were apprehended, upon suspicion of being in the present plot; and they were all sent to prison, except the duke of Bucks[c].—Lambert, for his good service, had the thanks of the house, and a jewel of a thousand pounds value bestowed on him. Such were the rewards of valour and conduct! The public, perhaps, had as much zeal exerted in its service then, as since large pensions have been settled on commanders in chief and their children!—Thus ended this insurrection, from which Charles had been induced to expect so much, that he went from Brussels to Calais, incognito, attended by Ormonde and Bristol, to be at hand, on the success of the affair, to head his adherents.—"The parliament, on the suppression of this insurrection, seemed now to be in as absolute posses-

[a] Journal, Aug. 21, 1659. [b] See Journals, Aug. 19—27
[c] Whitlock, p. 682.

The government, so lately restored, was

sion of the government of the three nations," says Clarendon, "as ever Cromwell had been[a]." And Ludlow tells us, "that from the sad consideration of these and other unsuccessful attempts, the cavalier party, and those that sided with them, began to despair, and to give their cause for lost, unless, by divisions among ourselves, we should render our victories useless to us: which fell out sooner than they expected[b]."—The lord chancellor Hyde, in a letter to doctor Barwick, dated 26 Sept. 1659, speaking of this defeat of the royalists, says, "I shall not trouble you, nor myself, with discoursing upon the late misfortunes and misadventures, of the grounds whereof I am totally ignorant, more than what relates to the treachery of one ill man [Sir Richard Willis], and how that should make so many persons fail in their undertakings I cannot comprehend[c]." This ill man bears much blame in Echard[d] and Clarendon's[e] histories; and we have some very pretty well-told tales concerning his treachery, and the means of its discovery by Mr. afterwards Sir Samuel Morland, under-secretary to Thurloe. But the great misfortune is, their tales are, like most other tales, not founded in truth, and, consequently, are undeserving of credit. That this is not spoken at random, will appear from the following letter from Mr. Morland to Sir Richard Willis, dated the first of March, 1660, N.S. which was little more than two months before the restoration:

"Sir, Whereas I have heard how much you have suffered by a libel, bearing date the 3d of June, 1659,

[a] Clarendon, vol. VI. p. 675. [b] Vol. II. p. 694. [c] Barwick's Life, p. 208. [d] Hist. of England, vol. II. fol. p. 805. Lond. 1718. [e] Clarendon, vol. VI. p. 667.

again interrupted by the army [35], who had

charging you with a private correspondence with Mr. Secretary Thurloe and his creatures, and that I particularly was since in Flanders in person, to inform the king of the particulars, by shewing him letters of yours and receipts for money; I think myself obliged, though a stranger to you, to be so far assisting to your vindication, as to declare and profess, that I was never in any part of Flanders in all my life, nor with the king beyond sea upon that or any other account; nor did ever shew him (as is aforesaid) any such letters or bills of receipt for any moneys whatsoever. And so far was I from being in any capacity of informing against you as aforesaid, that I do profess, I knew not so much as your name; neither was I ever present at any private conference between you and Mr. Secretary Thurloe: which upon all occasions shall be constantly attested by, Sir, your most humble servant,

S. MORLAND [a]."

Happy is it for the lovers of historic truth, that there are so many authentic papers preserved!

[35] The government was again interrupted by the army.] The army had confessed, in their declaration inviting the members to return to the exercise and discharge of their trusts, that they had contributed to the state in which things were, "by wandering divers ways from righteous and equal paths." The meaning of which was, that they had been blameworthy in assisting Cromwell to overthrow the commonwealth, and assume the supreme power. In order to atone for this their offence, they earnestly desired the parliament to return to the government, from which, by force, they

[a] Thurloe's Life, prefixed to his State Papers.

promised them all fidelity. These men,

had been ejected; and promised to yield them their utmost assistance to sit in safety.——In consequence of this the house met, and received great civility, and much seeming respect, from the armies of England and Scotland. "These passages," says Whitlock, "gave the more hopes to many, that this parliament, thus restored, might be blessed of God, for settling the peace and liberty of the nation; and the more, because they were upon the first right and foundation of that long parliament which had done so great things: and therefore divers were the better satisfied to go on with them[*]." But jealousies soon arose between them and their restorers. The parliament was jealous of the army; and the army was not pleased with the parliament, who, they thought, interfered too much in their affairs, by settling the officers of the respective regiments, and causing them to take out fresh commissions from the speaker in the house. After the defeat of Booth, by Lambert, the army began more openly to shew their inclinations to dictate to those to whom they so lately professed subjection. "In the month of September, 1659," says Ludlow, "a petition came to my hands, that had been addressed to the parliament, from the officers of that brigade which was commanded by colonel Lambert, and signed from Derby; wherein they aspersed the parliament, for not endeavouring to suppress the late rebellion with such vigour as they ought, for not punishing those who had been engaged in it, and for not rewarding the officers who had defeated the enemy. They pressed for a settlement of the government after their own mode, in a re-

[*] Memorials, p. 678.

actuated by ambition, and desirous of giv-

presentative of the people, and a select senate. And for the better discovery of their arbitrary designs, they demanded that lieutenant general Fleetwood might be made commander in chief of the army, without any limitation of time; colonel Lambert appointed major general, colonel Disbrowe lieutenant general of the horse, and colonel Moncke major general of the foot. To which they added, that no officer of the army should be dismissed from his command, unless by a court martial[a]."—On the 22d of the same month, the house being made acquainted with the effect of an address intended to be made to the parliament by some of the army; it was ordered, "that colonel Pierson, colonel Ashfield, and colonel Cobbet, be required forthwith, this afternoon, to bring to the parliament the original paper, or address (in their or one of their hands), intended by some of the army to be presented to the parliament: and that the copy thereof, in the hands of lieutenant general Fleetwood, be also brought to this house, this afternoon." And Fleetwood was ordered to give the colonels notice of the said order[b]. This was accordingly done. The next day the house resumed the debate; and, resolving it should be under secrecy, it was declared by the house, "that to have any more general officers in the army than are already settled by the parliament, is needless, chargeable, and dangerous to the commonwealth."—There was a question also propounded, that some of the matters contained in the petition and proposals of the officers just mentioned, were unreasonable, and of dangerous consequences; which passed in the negative. It was, however, re-

[a] Ludlow, vol. II. p. 699. [b] Journals.

ing the law, presented "a remonstrance

ferred to Fleetwood to communicate the vote of the house to the officers of the army; and to admonish them of this irregular proceeding; and to take care to prevent any further proceedings therein by the soldiers. But in order, if possible, to make them easy; it was resolved, Oct. the 4th, "that the arrears, due to the officers and soldiers of the army, and also of the militia troops, shall be paid out of the moiety of such monies as shall be raised by the sale, or other disposition, of the estate of delinquents, sequestred, and to be sequestred, upon the late insurrection; and out of one moiety of the money to be raised by the sale of forests and chaces, excepting New Forest and the forest of Deane; and excepting such timber trees as shall be thought fit to be reserved for the service of the commonwealth: and that the other moiety of the money to be raised by the said delinquents estates, shall go to the use of the navy: and the other moiety of the forests shall go to the payment and satisfaction of the debt due upon the public faith[a]." Hampton Court, Somerset House, and other things, were ordered likewise to be sold, and applied to the use of the navy. Great care, we see, is here used to please and oblige those in whose hands they were; and much caution not to burden the people with new impositions. A practice worthy of imitation! For while a number of useless, but very valuable things are at hand, of which money may be made, it seems very unreasonable that the purses of mechanics and labourers should be drained, in order to maintain the pomp and luxury of persons in the higher ranks of life.——But to go on.——The officers, having no-

[a] Journal.

and proposals," which were deemed of too

tice given them, by Fleetwood, of the declaration of the house, and the censure passed on their proceedings, presented, what they called, "The humble representation and petition of the officers of the army, to the parliament of the commonwealth of England," by the hands of Disbrowe, accompanied with others of his brethren. This petition sets out very modestly, and is couched in terms of respect. It, however, asserts their good intentions with respect to the commonwealth; and attempts to vindicate the innocency of such officers as had signed the petition and proposals of the northern brigade. They afterwards say, "We cannot but esteem ourselves unhappy to have been so misrepresented to the parliament, as should occasion such a publicke admonition upon record: and considering what evil use may be made of these things by the publicke enemy, and to the end they may be disappointed of their hopes, and all such persons discouraged as shall go about for the future to promote jealousies, or by misinformation to beget divisions betwixt the parliament and their faithful servants the army, and that a good understanding may be preserved between them, we humbly pray,

"1. That the officers of the army, and particularly those who have reason to bear the marks of your favour for their faithfulness in the late northern expedition, may stand right in your opinion, and have your countenance.

"2. That whatsoever person or persons shall, for the future, groundlesly and causelesly inform the house against your servants, thereby creating jealousies, and casting scandalous imputations upon them, may be brought to examination, justice, and condign punishment.

dangerous a nature to be complied with by the parliament, who therefore were

" 3. That it being an undoubted right of the people to have a liberty, in a peaceable and submissive way, to petition the supream authority, which liberty hath been by yourselves asserted, allowed, and approved of, we cannot also but assert the said liberty, and humbly conceive, that your faithful servants of the army have no way forfeited their rights as freemen: and that therefore they hope it will be no offence for them to submit their humble desires unto the parliament. And we hope and pray, you will not discourage them for so doing.

" 4. That you will be pleased to take into your serious consideration the necessitous condition of the poor soldiers of your armies.

" 5. That such as owned and stood by you in the late insurrection, may have your encouragement, and be employed in places of trust and command.

" 6. That (it being a thing granted by all, that without due execution of martial discipline, the peace, union, and good government of an army cannot be preserved) the discipline of the army may be preserved inviolable; and, in particular, that no officer or soldier of your army may be cashiered, or dismissed from their places, without a due proceeding at a court martial, or by his own consent, except in cases of reducement or disbandings.

" 7. That (it being judged necessary by the parliament for the keeping of the army under such a conduct as may render the same serviceable to the commonwealth, to appoint a committee of nomination, for the proposing officers to the parliament for their approbation) we humbly pray, that no officers may be brought

judged foes, and as such treated by the army.

into the army, but such as shall come under the consideration of the said committee, and be by them presented.

" 8. The office of the commander in chief of the army, being of so great concernment to the peace of this commonwealth, and his commission at present (as we conceive) expiring within a few months; we humbly pray, that the consideration of that matter may come before you, and some such effectual course taken herein, as may prevent our fears, and the hazard of leaving the army in confusion.

" 9. And that you would retain a good opinion of your army, and against all discouragements whatsoever, proceed in the carrying on of that work intrusted in your hands, for the glory of God, and advantage of these nations. In the prosecution whereof, through the help of our God, we shall be found (notwithstanding all endeavours to the contrary) faithful to you and this commonwealth[a]."——The parliament, by their speaker, gave the petitioners civil words; and let them know the care they had taken already of what concerned the soldiery, and their intentions of considering the other matters in their petition on a day mentioned. Accordingly, on the 9th of October, and the following days, the house resolved that the answers to the proposals of the army should be, "That the officers of the army have received, and from time to time shall receive, marks of the favour of the parliament, and

[a] True Narrative of the Proceedings in Parliament, Council of State, General Council of the Army, &c. Published by special order. Quarto. Lond. 1659. Printed by John Redmayne.

Many officers of note, however, remained

countenance answerable to their merit.——That it is the duty of all persons, especially of the members of parliament, to inform the house of any thing which, in their apprehension, may concern the public safety: and it is the undoubted right of the parliament, to receive and debate those informations; and to resolve what they think fit thereupon.——That every member of the army, as freemen of England, have right of petitioning the parliament; but thinks fit to let them know, that the petitioners ought to be very careful, both in the manner and in the matter of what they desire; that the way of promoting and presenting the same may be peaceable; and the things petitioned for not tending to the disturbance of the commonwealth, nor to the dishonor of the parliament: and that it is the duty of petitioners to submit their desires to the parliament, and acquiesce in the judgment thereof. ——That two months pay be forthwith paid to the officers and soldiers of the armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland.——That such persons as have been faithful and active for the parliament, in the late insurrection, the parliament will take care to give them all due encouragement."——Thus far the house proceeded on the 11th of October, and on the same day passed a bill, which made it treason to tax or assess the people without common consent in parliament; and that immediate notice might be taken of it, it was, at the same time, ordered to be printed, and published*. During these transactions, in order to awe the house into a proper compliance, the general officers of the army sent the representation and

* Journal.

firm to them; and failed not to put their

proposals abovementioned to the several regiments of the army, to be signed by the officers thereof. As this could not be long a secret, a letter, directed for Colonel Okey, and signed by the principal officers for this purpose, was produced in parliament the next day; which caused the following resolutions: "That the several commissions of these several persons; viz. colonel John Lambert, colonel John Disborough, colonel James Berry, colonel Thomas Kelsy, colonel Richard Ashfield, colonel Ralph Cobbett, Major Richard Creed, colonel William Packer, and colonel Robert Barrow, who have subscribed the said letter, shall be, and are hereby, made void and null; and they, and every of them, be, and are hereby, discharged from all military employments." It was resolved also, that the army should be governed by commissioners; and that some regiments, which they thought trust-worthy, should guard the parliament that night.—It was easy enough to vote and order all this in the house: but the chief officers loved too well their power, and their pay, to resign in consequence of it. And to let the house and the world see that they would not be controuled, on the following day, "the late principal officers of the army," says the Journal, "whose commissions were vacated, drew up forces in and about Westminster, obstructed all passages both by land and water, stopped the speaker in his way, and placed and continued guards upon and about the doors of the parliament-house; and so interrupted the members from coming to the house, and attending their service there."—This interruption continued till the 26th of December following. The army, having now the power, constituted Fleetwood again commander in

brethren in remembrance of their faults; who, on the other hand, as is usual in such cases, took on them to vindicate[11] their

chief, Lambert major general of the forces of England and Scotland, and Disbrowe commissary general of the horse. A committee of safety was also appointed. It may be thought the parliament were rash and hasty in passing the votes which gave occasion to their interruption, as they had before experienced the lawless power of the army, and Richard's government had been just subverted by it. And possibly the matter was the result as much of heat, as of judgment.—— But in favour of these proceedings, it may be observed, that the army was no more in the power of one man, as formerly: that the army in Ireland was under the government of Ludlow, an able and determined republican; that Moncke professed all manner of subjection to them, and, indeed, never did fall in with the English officers in this affair; and, finally, that many commanders at home were strongly attached to them, and zealous in their cause, as will be seen in the ensuing note.——I will only add, that the committee of safety had all the powers of the late council of state: the power of bringing delinquents to punishment, and granting indemnity to such as had acted for the commonwealth: the power of suppressing insurrections: treating with foreign states: raising the militia: disposing of offices: and of forfeited estates[a].

[11] Many officers of the army put their brethren in remembrance of their faults; who, in their turn, took on them to vindicate themselves.] In a paper, intitled

[a] See Mercurius Politicus, No. 592, p. 807.

behaviour. ——— Hence arose confusion amongst the leaders, who knew not well what to do, or how to behave. Discord

" The humble representation of colonel Morley, and some other late officers of the army, to general Fleetwood," dated Nov. 1, 1659, we have what follows: ——" The good people of this nation have been formerly deceived by good words and fair promises. Setting days apart for seeking God in fasting, when the way is not good, will not hereafter blind English eyes. Doing things unwarrantably, and then entitling God to them, as they will never the more be owned by God, so they will be never the more acceptable to discerning men. He that doth righteousness is righteous. The fear of the Lord is to depart from evil; and true godliness cannot be without denying one's self in all ungodliness and worldly lusts. They are just indeed, who have opportunity and power to be unjust, and yet dare not, because of the fear of God. They are truly faithful, who, when they are tempted and provoked to be treacherous, yea and have opportunity and power so to do, yet will not, dare not, wound their publick trusts. They have the name of God written in their hearts, who stand in awe of his precepts, and dare do nothing meerly because their sword is long enough to do it. And if this be according to the rule of truth, the question will be, whether the late and present actings of so many officers of the army be suitable, yea, or no? The parliament is interrupted, and that by a great part of the army. What parliament is it? [Is it] not the long parliament, under whose councils the army (by the blessing of God) hath won so many glorious battles in the field, both in England, Scotland, and in

and division also took place, which ren-

Ireland: that parliament, which (through the mercy of God) together with the subordinate concurrence of land and sea forces, was a terror to enemies both abroad and at home: that parliament, which was so constantly willing and ready both to satisfy public debts and contracted arrears, and to provide constant pay for the army and navy: that parliament, whose former interruption was found to be no ways advantageous to the nation. Have not the affairs of England, both abroad and at home, been declining ever since? And was not this army brought into such a perplexed condition, by an over-ruling hand of Providence, that it was forced to take shame to itself, even for that force it had offered to this parliament? Did not this army acknowledge this parliament the only visible authority in this nation; and thereupon solemnly desire and invite them to the discharge of their remaining trusts, promising all faithfulness and assistance therein? Is it not to be considered, that this parliament, notwithstanding they could not but see that they must sit again under great difficulties and disadvantages, because the treasure was exhausted, vast debts were contracted, and the soldiers and seamen unpaid; yet being invited, how did they break through these discouragements, and undertook *difficillimam provinciam*, who were no sooner assembled, but a general, desperate, and deep-laid plot stares them in the face, and in many places breaks forth upon them. And can it be denied, that the Lord was pleased, in every part of the nation where the plot broke forth, to take the honour of the success chiefly to himself? And we may truly say, that, by grace, we were outwardly saved, lest any man should boast. And can any be so inju-

dered their power less formidable. And

rious as not to acknowledge, that, by the late sudden calming of the storm, God was pleased afresh to own, and that signally, the councils of this parliament? Yet this parliament must again be interrupted, and that by those who had several ways solemnly engaged to them afresh. And in the late petition, how many times do the officers engaged therein seem to take a pleasure in styling themselves the faithful servants, and faithful army, of this parliament?——We are not ignorant of the great argument, why this parliament was interrupted. What! must nine families be undone at once? Far be it from us to desire the undoing of any, much less of those for whom we have so great respect; and we could heartily wish, that affairs might be composed to mutual satisfaction; and we are apt to fear, that all good men will (at the long run) find the smart and inconvenience of these unhappy divisions. But what! are military commands so essential to the well-being of men, if not to their beings, that they should count themselves undone if their commissions be but vacated by parliament? If vacating of commissions be an undoing, how many hundred of families have been undone, time after time, by the parliaments pleasure? Did not the parliament, in the year 1645, think fit to lay aside these general officers ensuing, namely, the earl of Essex, the earl of Warwicke, the earl of Manchester, Ferdinando lord Fairfax, sir William Waller, major general Massey, sir William Breerton, colonel Rossiter, and many other officers? Yea, how many commissions have been vacated lately by the council of nominations? And the former have for many years sat down in silence and peaceably at home, who have been known

the people, in general, weary of so many

in their time to have done as good service, and happily divers of them might be thought still to deserve a military trust, as well as some others. But let the utmost be granted, which cannot be imagined, that it were a kind of outward undoing; must the parliament be broken up? Must the only authority of the nation be trampled upon, to prevent such an undoing? Nay more, must the saving of nine commons be of such weight in the ballance of consideration, as that the undoing of so many millions of families in these nations shall be put to open hazard?—The people of England, assembled in parliament by their representatives, we must own to be our proper lawmakers, and to have legislative power, and to have power legally to levy taxes upon the people. We must own it, that the militia and standing forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland, ought to be subordinate to, and to be disposen by, commons of parliament, and of such powers as are delegated by parliament; and therefore again it is the earnest desire of our hearts to your lordship, that you lay Englands sad condition, and the interest of Christ in the world, to heart; and consider the hopes of all sorts of enemies by the late sad breach, and lay to heart the sighs, tears, and groans of thousands of precious souls in this nation, and also the fears of many, that the glory is departing from our Israel; and also consider your own danger, and the danger of the army in the ways they now are; and that you would effectually endeavour the removing of the present force upon the parliament, that they may sit in safety, and without interruption; for this we judge (as the army not long since have done) the most likely expedient to make way for Eng-

changes, and fearing what might ensue,

lands settlement, and therefore why should you not? It will be your honor, that by your means the door be once more opened, that this parliament may take some effectual course for as comprehensive an election of a succeeding parliament, as the safety of the cause will bear. And as to common enemies themselves, we can truly say, that we wish them equal benefit with ourselves under parliamentary laws. We only desire, that provision may be made, that the parliament, and the well-affected of the nation, may not be at their enemies mercy[a]." This representation was signed, H. Morley, Ar. Evelyn, Will. Farley, John Okey, Jo. Streaters, Matth. Alured, Nath. Barton, Tho. Sanders, H. Markham.—The army, sensible of these and such like objections to their conduct, thought it incumbent on them to endeavour to vindicate it. This was attempted by them in a pamphlet, entitled, "The army's plea for their present practice[b]." The reader will be best able to judge of its force by the ensuing extracts. ——"The army," say they, "is not insensible of the many angry and impertinent reflexions like to be cast upon them for this act, by the petulancy and frowardness of some discontented and inconsiderate persons, whose self-same tongues can, and frequently do, both bless and curse, commend and condemn, the self-same actions (at several times performed), as their own interests are like to stand or fall thereby: neither are they much sollicitous or careful about that matter, being sufficiently furnished with satisfactory reasons in their own consciences, to cut the sinews of any

[a] Thurloe, vol. VII. p. 771.

[b] Printed by Henry Hills, printer to the army. 4to. Lond. 1659.

were very desirous of Charles's restoration,

material objection that can be made against them. They are not likewise willing to enter into the controversie and debate of all that may be said with reference to the parliament, for or against their parliamentary authority, and the indissolvableness of them without their own consent, nor are they altogether ignorant thereof. That which did encourage the army to invite them to sit again, was, the consideration and remembrance of what great things God did do by them, their many years knowledge and experience which they had of the complexion, temper, and state of the commonwealth, and their presumed abilities and disposition to endeavour and bring about a safe and happy settlement thereof, to the great contentment of the people, and equitable satisfaction of all honest interests, and the many hopeful promises and assurances that were given thereof: and the army was resolved to adhere unto them, to the utmost of their power, to assist them therein, and did therefore judge it their duty to invite them to sit; but, alas: their hopes herein have vanished like smoke. They looked for peace, but behold a rent; and for a time of healing, but no good came. If this army, and the continuance thereof, be necessary to preserve that first just cause, for the preservation whereof they were first raised (there being scarce any thing obstructious unto the ruine of it, but the army), it was then necessary for them to take that course which they have done: for who seeth not, that if so be three of their chief officers, and seven field officers, can be puft away with a breath, for no cause given, without hearing, examination, trial, or proof made of any fault committed, and the rest of the officers remaining every whit as much in the pre-

in order to obtain a settled government,

tended offence as they, and therefore as much obnoxious to be destroyed (in respect of their standing in the army) by the breath of their nostrils, as their superiours and brethren were: (the cause being so) who seeth not, but that the army now must take its leave and last farewell of their old friends, and that cause which they have maintained hitherto with good success (through Gods blessing), or take up new resolutions to try yet what possibly may be done for the conservation thereof, and not to deliver up that sword out of their hands, for the smiting of that cause, which God by his providence did put into their hands for its protection and defence. It is not denied but that the officers of the army did promise and engage to be true, faithful, and constant to the parliament, which they did with all uprightness and singleness of heart: and so did the parliament when time was, in the solemn league and covenant, in a most serious manner, with hands lifted up unto the most high God, to defend the kings person, honour, and dignity, in the preservation of our liberties, and religion, &c. and yet afterwards did arraign, condemn, and execute him; and yet, doubtless, do believe that they have not broken their covenant notwithstanding. In like manner the officers of the army did engage to be true, faithful, and constant to the parliament; but though the parliament was not pleased to insert the condition of that engagement, viz. in the maintenance of that old cause, the preservation of the just rights and liberties of all the pious and good people of the nation, living a peaceable and quiet life in all godliness and honesty, yet must it be implied and understood: for either that condition was intended, or not; if not, then was it unlawful, and

and a perfect peace. Few, indeed, chose so null and void in its very making: and as the making of such inconditionate engagement and promise is sin; so the keeping thereof is sin also, and so an adding of sin to sin. If it were intended, though not exprest, then the army hath not broken their covenant with the parliament, because their very judgments and consciences (upon arguments very convincing unto them) are satisfied, that (if this army were out of the way, whereunto those votes of cashiering the chief officers thereof were previous) they are perswaded, upon grounds and reasons too enforcing, that all the pious and good people of this nation should not enjoy a peaceable and quiet life in all godliness and honesty, but only some part of them; and that many thousands of good people in this land, that differ in judgment and practice in some points of religion and forms of worship from others, should be enforced either to sin in conformity against their consciences, or again, as in times of old, to seek their spiritual food, yea, and their bodily also, in desolate places, or else submit themselves unto the intollerable yoke of persecution and fiery trials. And what is this, but to give up that cause which for so many years hath, by *Gods* blessing, been asserted and maintained with good success, though with the loss of so much treasure and blood that hath been expended thereabout? Again: the forementioned votes, discharging the said officers from their places of command in the army, were for something, or for nothing: if for nothing, then were they meerly arbitrary, unreasonable, and unrighteous; yea, and contrary to the parliaments promise to them, that the officers of the army, from time to time, should receive marks of the favour of the parliament, and

openly to declare themselves on this head;

countenance answerable to their faithfulness and merit; which faithfulness and merit doth respect either the time past, or to come: if the time past, and with an eye to their former act of interruption, and leaving a liberty in them to punish them for the same, intending rather their presumed unfaithfulness and demerit, than their faithfulness and merit, then that vote was no promise, and so still a very collusion.

"If it did respect the time to come, then that promise hath not been kept, except cashiering be a mark of favour. Again: if their foresaid cashiering was not an arbitrary act of meer will and pleasure, but for just cause; what was that cause? why were they not called to an account, and heard before sentenced? which in all equity (especially their former gracious promise of marks of favour considered) should have been done.—If it be said, that the parliament thought it convenient for publick good to take away the commissions of those officers, which they gave unto them at their free pleasure; and that they and none else are the proper judges of what is convenient to be done for common interest in that case; and that the said officers ought to have submitted thereunto:—for answer, if it be granted that the being of this army, and the continuance also in the vigorous sense of their first just principles and resolution to protect all good men of honest and peaceable lives and conversation, in their civil and religious liberties, be absolutely necessary (which cannot reasonably be denied), then common and apparent reason must be the only judge. The army grants, that in doubtful and disputable cases, the parliament is the only judge; and all must submit: but if the parliament judge, and say, that

noon-day is mid-night; or if they vote that it is liberty, and not bondage, to be in chains and cast into dungeons, and there kept; must men submit in that case? Suppose the parliament should make peace with the Scotch king, upon condition of security of their lives, liberties, and estates to themselves, families, and posterity; and for quietness sake, for the settlement of the nation, should resolve to enact, that all men whatsoever shall submit and conform themselves, in their judgment and practice, unto what doctrines, discipline, and worship the said king and a free parliament (to be hereafter chosen by his writs) shall enact; must the army and all others quietly submit, and lay down their heads upon blocks to be cut off, without asking any question, for conscience sake? Whatever is the opinion of the late parliament in this point now, it is most certain, that was not their opinion in 1648. The sum then of this is, that as the late parliament, in one of their declarations, spake of treating with the late king, viz. a declaration of the lords and commons, of the 4th of March, 1647, in answer to the papers of the Scotch commissioners; so may the army say of their submission to these votes, viz. that they cannot suffer themselves to be voted out of all that they have fought for, nor that, under the pretence of publick good, voted so to be by the parliament, for the satisfying of all interests, one interest should be set up which should devour all the rest. Surely, if this must be the issue of all, after so much expence of the treasure and blood of the nation, the parliament and army should have taken this into consideration before they had engaged themselves and the nation in so much cost and blood, which was not only spent unnecessarily, but also very unlawfully. Who doth not see that this will bring upon them all the blood that

hath been shed in this war?—Neither do they think they ought to suffer themselves to be voted first out of their commands in the army, and next unto the gallows, with all their friends and party, for nothing, but their adhering to that first just cause, whereunto they are invited, conjured, and sworn so to adhere, with their lives and fortunes, even by them that so vote them. Again: by the parliament must be meant the major part of the parliament, and not the minor: and if so, it cannot be forgotten, that these very gentlemen of parliament, when they were a minor party in the house, and could not carry on that great cause of publick liberty, which at first they asserted, being overpowered by the contrary party in the house, through the defection that many of them made from the same; that then they did rest satisfied in permitting the army to be judge in the case, and (not to say, did invite and desire them to take away several of the leading party of the said disaffected members) did acquiesce and rest satisfied in the reasons given by the army for their so acting; the very spirit and life of which reasons did consist in this, that they could not in conscience permit them (that is, the major part of the house, for a minor part could not) to destroy the cause which they (by commands of parliament, and in conscience of the vows and covenants imposed upon them by parliament) did undertake when they were first invited into arms. And if they might be judge of what was meet to be done to secure the common cause of the good people of the nation then, why may they not (the case being the same in their very judgments and consciences) be judges of what is necessary for them to do now also[a]." It must be allowed, that

[a] Army's Plea, p. 21—28

there is force in some parts of this reply, *ad homines*; but at the same time it insinuates falshoods, and goes upon suppositions highly improbable. The parliament had no designs upon liberty, civil or religious; as was evident from their former proceedings and late declarations. Nor could the cashiering of a few officers, how high soever their rank, be justly deemed as a presage of the ruin of the army itself. The parliament was too sensible of the need they had of their aid, as things were then circumstanced, to harbour such an imagination. There was a great difference also between the transactions in 1648, and those of the present time. The affair then deliberated on, was, whether the old master, who had attempted to bring all under the yoke, should be replaced in that power which it was well known he was little inclined to use well: that is, whether the people should preserve their liberty, or bow down to a tyrant whom they had fairly overcome? This was a national concern. But the matter now was merely the power and interest of a very few men, unconnected with the public; and therefore unfit to be a matter of such concern as to embroil the public, and overthrow government. However, this fresh interruption was much in the military spirit, inclined to despotism, and willing to give the law to *all*, whenever it finds itself in a capacity to make them submit.—I will close this note with Milton's sentiments on these army proceedings, as given by himself to a friend, in a letter, dated Oct. 20, 1659.—"I was over-joyed when I heard that the army, under the working of Gods holy spirit, as I thought, and still hope well, had been so far wrought to Christian humility and self denial, as to confess in public their backsliding from the good old cause, and to shew the fruits of their repentance in the righteousness of their restoring the

old famous parliament, which they had without just authority dissolved. I call it the famous parliament, though not the harmless; since none well-affected but will confess, they have deserved much more of these nations than they have undeserved. And I perswade me, that God was pleased with their restitution, signifying it, as he did, with such a signal victory, when so great a part of the nation were desperately conspired to call back again their Ægyptian bondage. So much the more it now amazes me, that they, whose lips were scarce closed from giving thanks for that great deliverance, should be now relapsing, and so soon again backsliding into the same fault, which they confessed so lately, and so solemnly to God and the world, and more lately punished in those Cheshire rebels; that they should now dissolve that parliament, which they themselves re-established and acknowledged for their supream power in their other day's humble representation: and all this, for no apparent cause of public concernment to the church or commonwealth, but only for discommissioning nine great officers in the army; which had not been done, as is reported, but upon notice of their intentions against the parliament. I presume not to give my censure on this action, not knowing, as yet I do not, the bottom of it. I speak only what it appears to us without doors, till better cause be declared: and I am sure to all other nations most illegal and scandalous, I fear me barbarous, or rather scarce to be exampled among any barbarians, that a paid army should, for no other cause, thus subdue the supream power that set them up. This, I say, other nations will judge to the sad dishonor of that army, lately so renowned for the civilest and best ordered in the world, and by us here at home for the most conscientious. Certainly if the great officers and

but the frequent and loud calls for a free

soldiers of the Holland, French, or Venetian forces, should thus sit in council, and write from garrison to garrison against their superiours, they might as easily reduce the king of France, or duke of Venice, and put the United Provinces in like disorder and confusion. Why do they not, being most of them held ignorant of true religion? because the light of nature, the laws of human society, the reverence of their magistrates, covenants, engagements, loyalty, allegiance, keeps them in awe. How grievous will it then be, how infamous to the true religion we profess? how dishonourable to the name of God, that his fear, and the power of his knowledge, in an army professing to be his, should not work that obedience, that fidelity to their supream magistrates, that levied them, and paid them; when the light of nature, the laws of human society, covenants, and contracts, yea, common shame, work, in other armies, amongst the worst of them? which will undoubtedly pull down the heavy judgment of God among us, who cannot but avenge these hypocrisies, violations of truth and holiness, if they be indeed so, as they seem. For neither do I speak this in reproach to the army; but as jealous of their honor, inciting them to manifest and publish, with all speed, some better cause of these their late actions, than hath hitherto appeared; and to find out the Achan amongst them, whose close ambition, in all likelihood, abuses their honest natures, against their meaning, to these disorders: their readiest way to bring in again their common enemy, and with him the destruction of true religion and civil liberty[a]."

[a] Milton's Prose Works, vol. I. p. 637. 4to Lond. 1753.

parliament [32] left no room to doubt of their

[32] The discord and divisions, which ensued, made the people desirous of Charles's restoration.] Charles had always friends. Some were such on principle; others through hopes of reward; desire of revenge; the repossession of what, by bad behaviour, they had forfeited; envy of those who had supplanted them in power; or a fickleness to which human nature is many times prone. Many of these people had shewn their good will towards the exiled monarch, and had paid very severely for it. Their sentiments, however, were not altered; but they were continually waiting for a favourable opportunity to overturn the power in being, and restore their master. All their attempts, hitherto, had been vain: and had the parliament and army continued united, they must have been always so. For the people, finding the advantage of an equitable government, would, in general, have been satisfied; and such as were not so, would have been over-awed, and kept in subjection. But when the supreme power was overturned; when the members, who constituted it, were divided in principle and practice; when the army was split into parties, and every man's sword was ready to be drawn against his fellow; and all things were in a distracted state;—when this was the case, men's fears were great, and they were catching at every thing for safety. They had forgot what had passed, and were only solicitous to escape the present danger. In this moment of terror it was, that men of various parties and denominations, of different views and designs, united in their wishes for the establishment of a prince from whom they could not reasonably hope the protection of their liberties. The confusion of things at this time, and their consequences, will be best under

intentions. Things being in this situation,

stood by Whitlock's artless account of them. "No quiet," says he, "was enjoyed by any party: all were at work, and the king's party very active, and every man was guided by his own fancy and interest: those in employment were most obnoxious to trouble. I wished myself out of these daily hazards, but knew not how to get free of them; the distractions were strangely high, and daily increasing. A design of a rising in London, laid by the king's party, but discovered and prevented, and many of the conspirators taken: letters [Dec. 21] that several of the forces, which Fleetwood sent to reduce Portsmouth, were gone into the town and joined with them, some of colonel Rich's men, and others: that the isle of Wight was come into the parliament party: letters from vice-admiral Lawson and his officers to the city, and others to the militia of London, declaring for the restoring of the parliament; and from Haslerigge, Walton, and Morley, from Portsmouth, to the city, acquainting them with their success there: most of the soldiery about London declared their judgment to have the parliament sit again, in honor, freedom, and safety: and now those that formerly were most eager for Fleetwoods party, became as violent against them, and for the parliament to sit again: these passages perplexed me as well as others, if not more; I all along suspecting Monks design. The lord Willoughby, and alderman Robinson, major general Browne, Mr. Loe, and others, came to me, and confirmed my suspicions in this particular; and propounded to me to go to Fleetwood, and to advise him to send forthwith to the king at Breda, to offer to bring him in upon good terms, and thereby to get beforehand with Monk, who question-

those who thought themselves in danger,

less did intend to bring in the king. I, upon serious thoughts of this, went to Fleetwood, and we had a long private discourse together; wherein I told him, that by the desire of his brother, Sir William Fleetwood, and of the lord Willoughby, major general Browne, alderman Robinson, Mr. Loe, and others, I was come to discourse freely with him about our present condition, and what was fit to be done in such an exigency as our affairs were now in. That it was more than evident, that Monks design was to bring in the king, and that without any terms for the parliament party; whereby all our lives and fortunes would be at the mercy of the king and his party, who were sufficiently enraged against us, and in need of repairing their broken fortunes. That the inclinations of the presbyterian party generally, and of many others, and of the city, and most of the parliaments old friends, were the same way, and a great part of the soldiery. And that these here were revolted from Fleetwood, as those in the north under Lambert, and those at Portsmouth, and other places. That Monk would easily delude Hasilrigge, and the rest of the old parliamentmen; and that all the incensed lords, and secluded members, would be and were active in this design: so that, I said, the coming in of the king was unavoidable; and that I thought (being that must be) that it was more prudence for Fleetwood, and his friends, to be the instruments of bringing him in, than to leave it to Monk. That, by this means, Fleetwood might make terms with the king for preservation of himself and his friends, and of that cause, in a good measure, in which they had been engaged; but if it were left to Monk, they, and all that had been done,

began to consult in earnest for their own

would be left to the danger of destruction. I therefore propounded to Fleetwood to do one of these two things; either to give order for all his forces to draw together, and himself and his friends to appear in the head of them, and see what strength they could make that would stand by them, and, accordingly, to take further resolutions, if they found their strength but small (as I doubted); then with those few he had to go to the Tower, and take possession of it; and to send to the mayor and common-council of London, that they would join with them to declare for a free parliament; which, I thought, the city would willingly do, and furnish him with money for his soldiers, which would increase their numbers. Fleetwood asked me, if I would go with him into the field, and to the Tower? I said, I would. Fleetwood then asked, what was the other way that I had to propound to him in this exigency? I answered, it was this; that Fleetwood should immediately send away some person of trust to the king to Breda, to offer to him his and his friends service to the restoring of the king to his right, and that upon such terms as the king should agree upon. And, for this purpose, to give instructions to the party whom Fleetwood should send upon this affair. Fleetwood then asked me, if I would be willing to go myself upon this employment? I answered, that I would go, if Fleetwood thought fit to send me. And after much other discourse to this effect, Fleetwood seemed fully satisfied to send me to the king, and desired me to go and prepare myself forthwith for the journey; and that in the mean time Fleetwood and his friends would prepare the instructions for me, so that I might begin my

safety. Many of the principal actors un-

journey this evening, or to-morrow morning early. I, going away from Fleetwood, met Vane, Desborough, and Berry, in the next room, coming to speak with Fleetwood; who thereupon desired me to stay a little; and I suspected what would be the issue of their own consultation: and within a quarter of an hour Fleetwood came to me, and in much passion said to me, I cannot do it; I cannot do it. I desired his reasons, why he could not do it? He answered, these gentlemen have remembred me; and it is true, that I am engaged not to do any such thing without my lord Lamberts consent. I replied, that Lambert was at too great a distance to have his consent to this business, which must be instantly acted. Fleetwood again said, I cannot do it without him. Then, I said, you will ruin yourself and your friends. He said, I cannot help it. Then I told him, I must take my leave: and so we parted[a]." Thus, through the over-honesty of one man, a design was laid aside, which, possibly, might have prevented a thousand bad consequences which afterwards followed! Men, who engage in great affairs, ought to be endowed with wisdom; or, otherwise, their honesty will be of little service. Ludlow, who was on the spot as well as Whitlock, represents the distractions of this time in the following manner: "The cavalier party, about London, finding themselves disappointed in their design of destroying the army by an insurrection, attempted to do it in another way; and to that end encouraged the apprentices to meet in great multitudes, to petition the aldermen and common-council, that they would use their endeavours to

[a] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 690.

der the several governments, which had

procure a free parliament to be speedily called; well knowing what the consequence of that would be in the present conjuncture of affairs. Many men of the kings party, and of desperate fortunes, intermixed themselves with them, and inflamed them to such a height of violence, that the army thought it necessary to send a regiment of foot, under the command of colonel Hewson; who, when he was come into the city, was affronted to his face, his men fired upon from the windows, and stones thrown on them from the tops of the houses: and as they proceeded in their march, were so pressed by the multitude, that the soldiers, to preserve themselves from their violence, were obliged to fire upon them; and having killed three or four of their number, the rest dispersed themselves for that time [a]. But tumults were now become so frequent in the city, that the army party found themselves obliged to send considerable guards thither almost every day to suppress them; one of which, being commanded by colonel Desborough, carried themselves so roughly towards divers eminent citizens, that they greatly disgusted the whole city. The aldermen and common-council, not thinking it convenient openly to patronize these disorders, agreed upon a paper to be presented to the council of officers, wherein, having disowned the late tumults, they complained of the killing of their men, and of the guards that were kept in the city: desiring that they might be withdrawn, and the guard of the city left to the civil magistrate, who could not otherwise undertake to secure the peace; and that a free parliament might be forthwith called.

[a] This was on the 5th of December. See Mercurius Politicus.

taken place from the abolition of monar-

This paper was brought to the council of officers, by divers members of the court of aldermen and of the council: and being read, it was resolved, by those of the army, that if the aldermen and common-council would declare against the family of the Stuarts, and promise to be true and faithful to the commonwealth without a king, single person, or house of lords, they would withdraw their soldiers, and leave the city to be guarded by itself. They acquainted them also, that they had already resolved to call a parliament: and, for a farther satisfaction of the aldermen and common-council, they appointed six of their own number, whereof they constrained me to be one, to confer with them touching the reasons of these resolutions, and of the late proceedings of the army in the city. We met at Whitehall; and after col. Desborough had spent some time in shewing the necessity of sending part of the army to secure the peace of the city, and had made large protestations of the army's friendship to them, I took the liberty to say, that those who were members of the army could best inform them of their own intentions in the late proceedings in the city, wherein I should not intermeddle; but having this opportunity, and being a well-wisher to the commonwealth, I would take upon me to put them in mind, that we had all been engaged together, in defence of our rights and liberties, against arbitrary power; that the city had been eminently instrumental, in assisting the parliament and army, to carry on that weighty affair, whereby they had acquired honor to themselves, esteem among good men, and satisfaction in their own minds: but withall it ought to be considered, that by this they had highly incensed and vehemently provoked the

common enemy against them; who, though they might caress them for the present, and make them most solemn promises of future kindness, would never forget the aid and support they had afforded to the parliament during the whole course of the late war; but would certainly take a time to be revenged on them to the utmost. Wherefore I desired them, as they tendered the peace of the nation, and the preservation of their persons and estates, that they would not suffer themselves to be deluded by our common adversaries, and seduced by specious pretences to promote that interest, which, prevailing, would not only render all the blood and treasure, that has been spent in asserting our liberties, of no use to us; but also force us under such a yoke of servitude, that neither we nor our posterity should be able to bear. Divers of them seemed much surprized at this discourse, because they had taken other resolutions: yet others, and particularly alderman Fowke, expressed their approbation of what I had said; and declared their resolution to act accordingly, provided they might be assured not to be governed by an army: in which I assured them my judgment concurred with them, which my actions should always demonstrate[a]."——This killing of the men in the tumult, was a rare handle for the cavaliers to spirit the citizens up against the army, and thereby to expose them to their abhorrence. They greedily seized the opportunity. An anonymous printed paper, entitled, "The Engagement and Remonstrance of the City of London," written by L'Estrange, was published, Dec. 12, 1659, which contained what was thought most proper to irritate on such an occasion. Among other things, of a similar nature, the

[a] Ludlow, vol. II. p. 771.

following are remarkable, and shew the spirit of the man, and the temper of the times: "We find, in the midst of us, the house of prayer converted into a den of thieves: our counsels affronted by armed troops; our fellow-citizens knocked on the head, like dogs, at their own doors, for not so much as barking: nay, 'tis become death, now, to desire to live; and adjudged treason, but to claim the benefit of the law against it. Witnesse those infamous murders committed, but Monday last, upon our unarmed friends: and the glorious insolencies of that rabble towards such of the rest, as they seized and carried away. But this is nothing: to make us a compleat sacrifice, we are to be burnt too; for they have laid in the materials of the work already (a prodigious quantity of fire-balls, in Pauls and Gresham college): briefly we are designed for fire, and sword, and pillage: and it concerns us now, to look a little better to our gracious guards. (Not to insist upon the loss of trade, how many thousand families have nothing now to do but beg, and curse those wretches.) The honour and safety of the city lies at stake: and God so bless us, as we'll fall together; we will not live to see our wives and daughters ravished, our houses rifled, and our children beggars that shall only live to reproach their cowardly fathers: and all this done too by a people which we can as easily destroy as mention; by a party so barbarous, and so inconsiderable together, that, certainly, no creature can be mean enough, either to suffer the one, or fear the other[a]." However, there was little need of this kind of writings to stir up the people against those in power: for most of the counties in England were disposed to a settlement. In order to

[a] L'Estrange's Apology, p. 43. 4to. Lond. 1660.

chy, now found means to offer their ser-

which they addressed Moncke (as we shall hereafter see) for a free parliament, that, by that means, Charles might be restored, and an end put to the present confusions. So that lord Ormonde seems to have had some reason for telling lord Jermyn, in a letter, dated Jan. 1, 1659, O. S. "that the general disposition of the people, and particularly of the city of London, seems to promise great advantages to the king; four parts of five of the whole people, besides all the nobility and gentry, being devoted to him, and ready to act as they shall be directed, and not without some difficulty restrained from some present engagement[a]."——This disposition of the people Milton takes notice of, and censures, in the following passage:—"For this extolled and magnified nation, regardless both of honor won, or deliverances vouchsafed from heaven, to fall back, or rather to creep back, so poorly, as it seems the multitude would, to their once abjured and detested thraldom of kingship, to be ourselves the slanderers of our just and religious deeds, though done by some to covetous and ambitious ends, yet not therefore to be stained with their infamy, or they to asperse the integrity of others; and yet these now, by revolting from the conscience of deeds well done, both in church and state, to throw away and forsake, or rather to betray, a just and noble cause, for the mixture of bad men, who have ill-managed and abused it (which had our fathers done heretofore, and on the same pretence deserted true religion, what had long ere this become of our gospel, and all protestant reformation, so much intermixt with the avarice and ambition of

[a] Ormonde's Papers, vol. II. p. 360.

vice to the exiled prince [33], and to implore

some reformers?) and by thus relapsing, to verify all the bitter predictions of our triumphing enemies, who will now think they wisely discerned, and justly censured, both us and all our actions as rash, rebellious, hypocritical, and impious; not only argues a strange degenerate contagion suddenly spread among us, fitted and prepared for new slavery, but will render us a scorn and derision to all our neighbours. And what will they at best say of us, and of the whole English name, but scoffingly, as of that foolish builder, mentioned by our Saviour, who began to build a tower, and was not able to finish it? Where is this goodly tower of a commonwealth, which the English boasted they would build to overshadow kings, and be another Rome in the west? The foundation, indeed, they laid gallantly; but fell into a worse confusion, not of tongues, but of factions, than those at the tower of Babel; and have left no memorial of their work behind them remaining, but in the common laughter of Europe! What must needs redound the more to our shame, if we but look on our neighbours, the United Provinces, to us inferior in all outward advantages, who, notwithstanding, in the midst of the greatest difficulties, couragiously, wisely, constantly went through with the same work, and are settled in all happy enjoyments of a potent and flourishing republic to this day [a]."

[33] Many principal actors in the late governments offered their services to the exiled prince.] Men who aspire to, and take employment in the state, too frequently have no better motives thereunto than ambi-

[a] Milton's Prose Works, vol. I. p. 644.

pardon for their former transactions. It

tion and self-interest. A court is followed because of the loaves and fishes which are to be found there. When these fail, it is no more regarded. So that it is not the desire of profiting the public, the love of the sovereign, or any of those specious pretences which are made use of by these kinds of men, that, in fact, do actuate them in accepting and executing their various employments. Hence it comes to pass, that, generally speaking, it is very indifferent to them who is the master, what is his conduct, or how the people are treated by him. So that it is nothing uncommon to see such as have been favourites and counsellors under one prince, enjoy the same under another, who has ousted him of his dominions, and deprived him of his bread. We are not to wonder, therefore, that those who were preferred by Cromwell, on account of their abilities, and had reaped advantages in consequence thereof, should be disposed, when their interest seemed to lead that way, to reconcile themselves to Charles, in order to take care of themselves, in the full extent of the phrase.

A republican government, in which laws alone ought at least to preside, is highly unsuitable to the disposition of those who have been used to liberties and indulgencies to which the law is a stranger. When Richard resigned, his and his father's friends almost immediately fell off from the party to which they had adhered, and did what in them lay to restore the old family and government. Howard and Falconberg were among the first of these; the latter of whom, after the suppression of Booth's insurrection, was sent to the Tower by the parliament[a]. Mountague, though he con-

[a] Journal, 24 Sept. 1659.

need not be said they were, for the most

tinued in the command of the fleet, was justly suspected of being no friend to the parliament, and only waited an opportunity to join with the friends of Charles; as did Penn, and others, who had served the protector. To these we may add Clarges, Ashley Cowper, and many more, who arrived to honours, and wealth, and power, after the restoration. We have already seen the disposition of Fleetwood and Whitlock to the same cause; though they had not the wisdom, the luck, or the — shall I say it?—dishonesty of the abovementioned. I would, I think, I must, call it dishonesty; as they bargained only for themselves, and left the nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, in the lurch, without taking the least care of their laws and liberties, for which they with seeming zeal had engaged, and for which they had been well paid. Lord Broghill had been a zealous and active partizan for the family of Cromwell also; but about this time "he employed all his interest in making a party for the kings restoration: and to that end sounded all his own officers, who were desirous and earnest for it; and then dealt with others, who were not immediately under his command. And his lordship having now secured all Munster, he sent trusty messengers to sir Charles Coote, to engage him to do in the north, the same that his lordship had done in the south; which he readily undertook, and accomplished: with which good news, lord Broghill immediately dispatched a letter to the king, then at Brussels, by his lordships brother, the lord Shannon, inviting his majesty to come into his kingdom of Ireland, and land at Corke, assuring him that he would be there received; and that he had got all the army of the south, as sir Charles Coote had

part, successful.——The friends of Charles

that of the north, in readiness to declare for his majesty[a]." It is certain, Broghill and his officers published a declaration at Cork, dated Feb. 18, 1659, O.S. in which they insisted on "the admission of the members secluded, in 1648, to sit in parliament; and that vacant places might be speedily supplied by the free and due elections of the people; yet so as none of the persons to be admitted, or elected, be any of those who have been in arms, or otherwise aiding, abetting, or assisting the late king, or his son, in the late war against the parliament; and that the house so filled, may proceed unanimously to consult the best means for re-settling the peace of the nations, the re-establishment of true religion, the fundamental laws of the land, and the liberties and freedom of the people, which are supported by those laws[b]." Broghill managed his matters as dextrously, however, as possible. For, well knowing the construction that would be put on this declaration, he continued to profess the utmost abhorrence of the royal cause. As late as Apr. 30th, he wrote as follows to Thurloe: "They have odd plots heere concerning the king; and all means used to win me; and, those failing, other things were thought on. But I can assure you, I have entirely secured Munster against any that shall be for the king, or not for the council of state or parliament. The like is done in most of Ulster, and some of Leinster.—I do monstrously dread the cavalier party; and if the parliament should be of such, God only knows what will be

[a] Memoirs of the Earl of Orrery, prefixed to his State Papers, p. 31. fol. Lond. 1742. See also Ormonde's Papers, vol. II. p. 314.

[b] Thurloe, vol. VII. p. 819.

availed themselves also of the general dis-

the evils. I am therefore heartily glad that the lords, I mean of 48, do resolve to sit; that may be hazardous: but the other, I doubt, is certain[a]." We may suppose Thurloe, who had like designs, was not much deceived by these professions.——I will now give a specimen of the manner in which some of these gentlemen made way for their reconcilement with their after-sovereign. Downing, resident in Holland for the protectors and the parliament, having strictly executed his commission with respect to watching well the motions of Charles, thought himself in some danger in the present conjuncture. To prevent this, he applied himself to Mr. Thomas Howard, whom he had formerly employed as a spy on his master, and prevailed on him to endeavour to procure his pardon. Howard, notwithstanding the suspicions under which he laboured, undertook the matter; and in a letter to his majesty, dated Ap. 5, 1660, told him, "that yesterday Downing, the parliament resident, sent twice to speak with me so earnestly, that, notwithstanding the reasons I had to myself not to see him, I went to him. When I came, he told me, he had desired to speak with me upon something that, he believed, would not be disagreeable to me; and that he wished the promotion of your majesty's service, which he confessed he had endeavoured to obstruct, though he never had any malice to your majesty's person or family: alledging, to be engaged in a contrary party by his father, who was banished into New England, where he was brought up, and had sucked in principles that, since, his reason had made him see were erroneous, and that he never

[a] Thurloe, vol. VII. p. 908.

position, and used every art, in order to

was in arms but since the kings death, nor had ever taken oath or engagement of any kind. And not to trouble your majesty with the long discourses he made me, in short, he told me, his desires were to serve your majesty, if you would be so graciously pleased as to pardon his past faults and errors; and that he did believe himself, in many capacities, able to do your majesty some service. He could not particularize any great and notable service for the present; but in the general, he would, from this time, do all he could. He believes he has a good interest in the army, and that your majesty can have no greater service done you than the dividing the army's interest, in their resolutions of vehemently declaring against your majesty in particular, and in general against any government in a single person. He says, they will set out a declaration, for this purpose, within a few days after this parliament is dissolved; which must be now done, the parliament being dissolved. He believes Moncke will endeavour to set up himself: and to assure me he was real in his proposition to serve your majesty, he shewed me a letter he received that morning (all in cypher, which he had decyphered) from Thurloe; which gave him an account of the intention of the army, and that Moncke had desired the parliament not to put out their declaration for settling the militia in all counties, without the advice of his council and his consent; and that the generality of England was for your majesty: but that those who most endeavoured your coming in, desired it might be upon such terms as that you would have no more power than a duke of Venice; and that no person now about your majesty abroad should be suffered to come into England in

increase it, by representing the good dis-

many years; all which, he did believe, would in time be brought to pass, but not without bloodshed; and that there was great probability of a war: that the parliament had no intent to dissolve, but were forced to do it for fear of being dissolved by the army. This he bid me give your majesty an account of; telling me, he wished your restoration upon better terms, and that he wished to see you a king that might oblige, and punish; and that he would make no conditions for himself, but desired to be looked upon according to the merit of his services; and he would, for the future, hazard his life and fortune for your majesty. He told me, if your majesty were pleased to pardon him, and accept his service, he would immediately go for England, where he would endeavour to make good his promise; and says, his not being looked upon as interested in your majesty's service, will make him more capable to prevail with the soldiers and officers of the army, who must first be brought off from their vehement courses; and then he and his friends will endeavour to bring them to such reasonable terms as your majesty shall think fit[a]." This offer was very graciously, as it is reasonable to think, received by his majesty; and Downing, in order to display his merit, went on to betray what was intrusted to him[a].—— Ingoldesby also, the relation and favourite of the Cromwells, who had sat in judgment on the king, and, as he would have it, unwillingly, set his hand to the warrant for his decollation, found a friend to recommend him to the king, and to obtain his pardon. It was lord Northampton, a sufferer in the royal cause; who

[a] Ormonde's Papers, vol. II. p. 319. [b] Id. p. 323.

position of the king, and the solid advan-

assured his majesty, "that though his [Ingoldesby's] youth had acted against the crown, and his interest, he was a real convert to both. I may without vanity speak it," continues he, "I was the first attempted him, being indeed sorry to see a person, in whom so much honor dwelt, engaged with such a faithless crew, his interest in the soldiery so advantagious, and for his abilities in conduct none more able to serve you. My first motions were in Richards time, when scarce a dawn appeared to the rising of your sun. The proposal I made was Richards resigning your right unto your majesty. The motives I us'd was Richards preservation from the tempest (which, though then by many not believed) I afar off perceived would inevitably fall upon him, no shelter visible but to merit your protection by your majesty's restoration. This dangerous secret did he most honourably preserve; and he no sooner perceived, by the last summers reports, that something was in agitation that would determine in action on your behalf, but he most freely proffered himself to do his utmost in it; no hopes of self-interest moving him, but that he might manifest his failings to be the faults of his misleaders, his worth to be innate in him. He would never lend an ear to any discourse of reward; but still declared, that your pardon and forgiveness of his former errors was all he aimed at, and that his whole life should be spent in studying to deserve it. Upon my word to him, he acted, and scaped, by the divine mercy of God, those dangers so many of your loyal subjects had like to have suffered under. To him God hath given such a blessing, as to crush Lamberts aspiring ambition, desperate and bloody designs in their growth. I may boldly say, at that con-

tages which would arise to the nation from

juncture of time, none in the army, with so small a force, could have done it. Ever since his re-investing in command, he hath employed, with good effect, all his endeavours to frame those forces under him, so as to be sure of them to serve your majesty on the first occasion; which he no less prudently and gallantly than happily performed. Desert (and in high measure too) pleads for your majesty's favour now; my word and honor are engaged for your majesty's confirmation. All farther marks of your esteem I shall not prescribe, but leave to your royal nature to consider of[a]."——I will only add, that St. John and Thurloe made their addresses likewise to Charles; and, by means thereof, escaped from the malice of their enemies[b].

Thus, we see, every one of these men were for taking care of one.——As to those who had on principle engaged in the cause of liberty, of which, doubtless, there were great numbers at this time surviving, they acquiesced, or seemed to acquiesce, for the most part, in the general voice; and submitted, without struggling, to what they saw it was to no purpose to oppose. If the conduct of these needs an apology, the reader may find it made long ago by Cicero, in an epistle to Lentulus, which I will give in Mr. Melmoth's most elegant translation.——"It appears to me," says the Roman, "to be the dictates of sound policy, to act in accommodation to particular conjunctures, and not obstinately persevere in one invariable scheme, when the public circumstances, together with sentiments of the best and wisest members of the community, are evi-

[a] Ormonde's Papers, vol. II. p. 333. [b] Id. p. 324; and Thurloe, vol. VII. p. 897.

his restoration[34]: advantages, according to

dently changed. In conformity to this notion, the most judicious reasoners on the great art of government have universally condemned an inflexible perseverance in one uniform tenor of measures. The skill of the pilot is shewn in weathering the storm at least, tho' he should not gain his port: but if shifting his sails, and changing his direction, will infallibly carry him with security into the intended harbour; would it not be an instance of unreasonable tenaciousness, to continue in the more hazardous course wherein he began his voyage? Thus (and it is a maxim I have often had occasion to inculcate) the point we ought all of us to keep in view, in our administration of the commonwealth, is the final enjoyment of an honourable repose: but the method of securing to ourselves this dignity of retreat, is by having been inflexible in our intentions for the public welfare, and not by a positive perseverance in certain favorite modes of obtaining it[a]."

[34] They represented the good disposition of the king, and the advantages of his restoration.] Hyde had possessed his correspondents in England with an opinion of the king's judgment and good-nature[b]: but, unluckily, he lay under suspicions with regard to his religion. At the latter end of the year 1659, lord Mordaunt writes to Ormonde, "there is a report so hot of your masters being turned papist, that unless it be suddenly contradicted, and the world disabused by something coming expressly from him, it is likely, in this extraordinary conjuncture, to do him very great inju-

[a] Letters of Cicero, vol. I. p. 194. 8vo. Lond. 1753. [b] Burnet, vol. I. p. 89.

them, of such a nature, as must necessarily

ry amongst his friends, both in city and country; in both which, his constancy all this while hath rendered him many considerable proselytes. I beseech you, therefore, as soon as this arrives, use your earnest endeavours to cause the mistake to be rectified. I am told, some do intend very shortly to publish how he hath renounced his religion, put away from him his protestant council, and only embraced Romanists. Favour me with the truth of these particulars; and it shall be my care to take order to stay this calumny till our master can do it more authentically. Do not contemn my advice; but know, that if it were not highly necessary I should not have adventured to give you this trouble. Your master is utterly ruined (as to his interest here in whatever party) if this be true; though he never had a fairer game than at present; and 'tis his stability in that point that gains daily[a]." This was generous in Mordaunt; as he exposed himself, possibly, to the resentment of many who were possessed of the king's favour. However, the usefulness of the advice was apparent; and, therefore, was immediately complied with. Some of the most eminent Hugonot ministers were prevailed on to write to their brethren in England, who had great influence at this time, and were well disposed towards his majesty. In these letters, monarchy is highly praised, as was naturally to be expected from men living under it; and his restoration pointed out, as the only means of peace and safety. Hear their own words. "Truly, I fear, you will never have peace ascertained," says M. Gachi[illegible] to Richard Baxter, in a letter, dated Paris, Apr. 2, 1660, "either

[a] Ormonde's Papers, vol. II. p. 264.

make all very desirous of enjoying them.

against tumults at home, or the attempts of enemies abroad, till he, who is the grandson of so many kings, at length be restored to his grandfathers throne. He hath every way, by right of inheritance, the title of king of Great Britain, though he yet possesses not the thing designed by the title. I know what odium hath been cast upon him. Some, whether really or in pretention, are dissatisfied in his constancy to the true religion; and alledge, that it concerns the church very much, that he, who is to rule others, should excel them in godliness. I will not answer (what truly may be said) that it belongs not to us to enquire into the princes religion: be he what he will (if his power be otherwise lawful, and the right of reigning belonging to him) obedience in civil matters must be performed to the king, and other matters must be committed to the divine providence. Let the bishop of Rome lust to justle kings out of their throne, unless they order affairs of religion according to his beck; we may not be so proud. We give unto God the things that are God's, and to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. But I pass over all this: for (which is the thing chiefly to be considered) this prince, being born and duly educated in the true religion, never departed from the public profession of it; no, not even in those places, in which he was like to suffer loss thereby: neither did he disdain to be present at our religious assemblies at Roan and Rochel. Moreover, he hath the reputation of godly practice among those that are about him. I confess, he never graced our church with his presence while he was seated at Paris, which truly grieved us: but because the case of those, called presbyterians, seemed to concern us who are presbyterians; and be-

And to quiet men's fears, with regard to

cause the kings death was ascribed to presbyterians; he could not but be strange to us, untill the event of things certified him that his restoration was principally hindered, not by our brethren, but by the anabaptists for the most part, or at least the independents, whom also he certainly understood to have before promoted his fathers sad death. I wish the odium of that fact, wherewith our churches have been so long loaded, might now at length be removed from us, and our English brethren; which I know not how it can ever be, unless matters may be so composed as the son may bear his fathers scepter, not violently wrested out of the presbyterians hands, but friendly and freely proffered."——Drelincourt, a minister of Charenton, also said, "that there were in the kings family, among his domesticks, some gentlemen of our religion, and my old friends, who, at several times, have given me assurances of the piety of this prince, and the stability in the profession he makes. The truth is," continues he, "some Englishmen have unadvisedly done him great wrong: for, upon false prejudices, they have forbore communion with us; and so have raised jealousies, as if their king and all his court were inclined to popery. But the more discreet behave themselves otherwise: for, knowing that the belief of our church and that of the church of England is the same, they willingly come to our churches; and even Dr. Cosin, the king of Great Britain's chaplain, hath joined us with great devotion."——Dailly, a man of the first reputation for learning and judgment in the controversies of those days, and who gave then an almost deadly wound to the authority of the fathers; Dailly, I say, wrote as follows, concerning the religion of Charles: "I well

futurity, the utmost assurances were given,

know there have been dispersed evil rumours concerning the religion of this prince: and I doubt not, but there are some persons at London, as well as here at Paris, who endeavour to perswade the world, that he hath forsaken our communion to embrace that of Rome. But who can believe a thing that is so contrary to probability? There is nothing of this appears to us. On the contrary, we well know, that although this prince hath been constrained, by the circumstances of his present condition, to reside sometimes in places where the exercise of our religion is not permitted; yet he hath always had his chaplains near to him, who are nothing less than papists, and who have every where regularly, in his presence, prayed, and performed the other parts of divine service.—It is objected against this, that, during the whole space of time which the king of Great Britain pass'd in the court of France, he never came to our religious assemblies, and that, amongst others, he never came to Charenton on the days of our worship. But although this may, at first view, appear strange to those who knew not the reason of it; nevertheless, as we are better informed of this than any one, we can testify, that religion was not the cause of it, and that he abstained from coming upon politick and prudential considerations, which may be peculiar to our church. And the proof of this appears in that when the king of England hath been out of Paris, he hath willingly gone to sermon in the churches of our brethren; as, for instance, in Caen, and some other towns: and in Holland, also, he hath several times heard the sermons of the famous Monsieur More, who at present is our colleague. Thus, Sir, it is more clear than the day, that whatsoever hath

by the royalists, of burying in oblivion

been reported, till this time, of the change of his religion, is a meer calumny, scattered by the artifice of his enemies, for to vilify him in the judgment of his subjects, and to alienate their affections and good-will from him, and, finally, to render fruitless the just prayers which they make at present for his happy return into England[a]."——The strain of these letters is very remarkable! Men who, probably, knew nothing, or next to nothing, of Charles, but his neglect or contempt of them when at Paris, take on them to sound forth his praises, and proclaim his deserts. Whether it was vanity, or the hopes of reward, which excited them to this undertaking, I will not pretend to determine. The event shewed their ignorance of what they talked about, and gave a lesson, to such as were capable of instruction, that clergymen, in general, are ill judges of politics, and grossly ignorant of the rights and interests of nations.—We are informed, by Baxter, that these letters were procured by lord Lauderdale, by means of Sir Robert Murray and the countess of Balcares, then in France[b].

The king himself also, in a letter to Mr. Morrice (afterwards secretary of state), dated Brussels, Apr. 8, 1660, assured him, that "he should be found to have the same good ends which he [Morrice] proposed to himself; and that no man in the kingdom could more, if so much, desire the advancement of the protestant religion, and the peace, and happiness, and honour of the nation[c]."—To all this, it was added, "that by closing with Charles, peace would ensue, and thence

[a] Kennet's Register and Chronicle, p. 92—95. [b] Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, part II. p. 215. [c] Thurloe, vol. VII. p. 858.

what was passed [35], and securing the en-

plenty: no jealousy of a pretender to invade us from abroad: Ireland, yea and Scotland, will acquiesce by way of subordination to the crown; the royal party must submit to the terms agreed; for if the head be satisfied, the body hath neither power nor title to dispute it farther. Parties also," it was said, "would be reconciled; and then there would be no occasion for a land army. Taxes and the excise would cease; and peace be established with foreign princes. The reformed religion would be greatly advanced; and the characters of those cleared who first engaged in the war, and covenanted that they had no thoughts or intentions to diminish his majesty's just power and greatness [a]."—These were the representations used, on this occasion, to heighten the disposition of the people towards his majesty! Representations fit to work on the vulgar unthinking herd, of all degrees, who are easily beguiled, by priests and statesmen, to their own destruction. These men, if they had been taxed afterwards with their falsehoods, probably, would have excused themselves, by saying, that they then thought so. But they should have known, that three noble nations were of too great a value to be thus lightly handled; and that nothing but certainty, or the highest probability, should have excited them to induce a people, who might still have been free, to submit to a master, bred up in the principles of tyranny, descended from tyrants, and a stranger, in a good measure, to the laws and liberties of the country over which he claimed to bear rule.

[35] The utmost assurances were given, by the royalists,

[a] Discourses for a King and Parliament, p. 14. 4to. Lond. 1660.

joyment of every thing dear and valuable

of burying in oblivion what was passed.] The bulk of the nation, notwithstanding their inclinations to the king, could not but be under apprehensions of the consequences of his restoration. The royalists were judged to be inclinable to revenge; and it was supposed, as these would be possessed of the power, they would not want the will to make those, who had subdued them, dearly pay for it. Property had shifted hands; and liberty of conscience had been claimed, and exercised, in a manner which could not be acceptable to those who had lorded it in the church and in the state, and thought they had still a right so to do. In short, people were afraid for their consciences, their possessions, and their persons: for many of the royalists had been foolish enough to talk of his majesty's resolutions of revenge[a]. The king, and his friends, were aware of this; and therefore took all possible care to lull the nation asleep, by smooth words, plausible professions, and such assurances as were judged aptest to work on their credulity. "Hyde sent over Dr. Morley, who talk'd much with the presbyterians of moderation in general, but would enter into no particulars; only he took care to let them know, that he was a Calvinist: and they had the best opinion of such of the church of England as were of that perswasion[b]." To second this most effectually, his majesty, in a declaration, dated Breda, Ap. 14, 1660, promised "a liberty to tender consciences; and that no man should be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that he should be ready to

[a] Ormonde's Papers, vol. II. p. 318. [b] Burnet, p. 88, vol. I.

to the people.——Some wise men there were, however, who were not to be amused

consent to such an act of parliament, as, upon mature deliberation, should be offered him for the full granting that indulgence.

"And because," proceeds he, "in the continued distractions of so many years, and so many and great revolutions, many grants and purchases of estates have been made by and to officers, soldiers, and others, who are now possess'd of the same, and who may be liable to actions at law, upon several titles; we are likewise willing that all such differences, and all things relating to the said grants, sales, and purchases, shall be determined in parliament, which can best provide for the just satisfaction of all men concerned [b]."—And that those who had fought against the royalists might be yet easier, many papers were dispersed in all the counties of England, subscribed by the chief of his majesty's adherents; in which they said, "We do sincerely profess, that we do reflect upon our past sufferings from the hands of God, and therefore do not cherish any violent thoughts or inclinations, to have been instrumental in them; and if the indiscretion of any spirited persons transports them to expressions contrary to this our sense, we utterly disclaim them: and desire that the imputation may extend no further, than the folly of the offenders. And we further declare, that we intend, by our peaceable and quiet behaviour, to testify our submission to the present power, as it now resides in the council of state, in expectation of the future parliament; upon whose wisdom and de-

[b] Philips's Continuation of Baker's Chronicle, p. 724. fol. Lond. 1674.

by words. These foresaw the consequences[36] of the king's return, and fairly laid them

terminations, we trust, God will give such a blessing, as may produce a perfect settlement both in church and state.——It is our hope and prayer, that when the building comes to be raised, it may not, like Rome, have the beginning in the blood of brethren; nor, like Babel, be interrupted by confusion of tongues: but that we may all speak one language, and be of one name; that all mention of parties and factions, and all rancour and animosities, may be thrown in and buried, like rubbish, under the foundation[a]." How well all these promises were made good—for promises they were taken to be—will be fully shewn hereafter.

[36] Some wise men foresaw the consequences of the king's return, and laid them before the nation.] The character of Charles, the expediency of his restoration, and the probable consequences of it, had been the subject of debate almost from his father's decollation. We have seen what was said, on these heads, in the controversy concerning the engagement[b]. On Sir George Booth's rising, the dispute again was carried on with much vehemence. The favourable representations of his majesty, and the happy consequences of his taking possession of the government, according to the opinion of his friends, have been just set forth. It remains now, to shew the sentiments of men differently affected towards him, relative to these matters. ——"As for the kings religion," says Marchamont Nedham, "if any, it is at best, you know, but a de-

[a] Philips's Continuation of Baker's Chronicle, p. 724. fol. Lond. 1674.
[b] See note 34.

before the nation.——They represented,

votion to prelacy (which was bequeathed to him in legacy); for he forfeited all his coronation oaths and protestations to the Scots nation, with all his other pretences of religion there, before ever he left that country. What profession he hath since owned abroad, hath (for reason of state) been kept very close; and yet not so close, but he discovered it, when visiting one of the English Jesuites colledges in Flanders, they shewing him, in their chapple, the effigies of several good fathers of that house, which had been sainted at Tyburn, he pulled his hat over his eyes, and turned aside to the wall. But if this be not evidence, let us have recourse to reason, and then consider how long he was under the wing of his mothers instructions in France, and what a nursery Flanders hath been for him since, which is the most jesuited place in the world: consider also the urgency of his necessities disposing him to embrace any thing, or take any course, to get a crown, being under the same influence of that wandring star, called, *Ragione di Stato*, as was his grandfather, Henry the fourth of France, who shifted his religion to secure a crown, and chose rather to hazard his portion in paradice, than his palace at Paris (which some say were his own very words): but to these considerations, take along with you the young mans intercourse with, obligation, dependence upon, foreign priests and papists; his frequent known applications and promises to the Pope, by special agents employed to Rome for that purpose, and to the Emperor, as well as the Spaniard: his allinnce to and combination with them, and other popeish princes (especially those of the Austrian party); being put altogether into the ballance, are ground

in the strongest terms, what was to be

enough to believe him sufficiently affected, if not sworn, to popery[a]."——"However, because the poor royalist hopes to reap a great harvest by the regal restitution, it will not be amiss to give him a little eye-salve, that he may be able more clearly to discern his own condition. The royalists are of two sorts: first, such as adhere to Charles out of necessity; secondly, such as adhere to him out of humour. The former are those, who, being hopeless of a return, or of the recovery of their fortunes by way of reconcilement, are constrained to run any hazard abroad with the head of their party; and therefore would turn every stone to overturn the present power of the commonwealth, that they may set up themselves. The latter sort of royalists are such, who though they served heretofore under the royal standard, yet, through favour of the parliament, have regained possession of their estates, and equal immunities with the rest of the people, save only that they are not yet thought capable of publick trusts in great offices, or to sit in parliament; but, otherwise, they enjoy the full benefit of that oblivion which the parliament gave, in hope thereby to oblige them. These may, not improperly, be called humourous royalists; because they have only an obstinate and vain-glorious humour for the ground of their behaviour, without any possibility of advantage thereby unto themselves, but are ridden, by the other sort, to carry on the highboy design of particular persons. These, to restore the single family of a prince, cast out by a wonderful hand of Providence, seem willing to hazard the ruin of all their own families; and to serve the

[a] Interest will not lye. 4to. Lond. 1659.

expected from the son of the late king,

ends of certain persons about him (men whose fortunes are desperate), they are ready to fool themselves into a loss of their own, as certainly they will if Charles miscarry in his enterprize. Whereas, on the other side, if he should carry it with success, they will be then but where they were, they can be but masters of what they have already.———The high ranters and fugitives are they that shall be looked on at court; those bell-weathers of royalty will bear away the bell of preferment; whilst the poor country royalists (both gentry and yeomen) shall be glad to drudge and plow, to pay the yet-unknown taxations which must needs be established to satisfy the forlorn brethren of the sword, and the grandees of the party; and, finally, be entailed upon the whole English posterity, to maintain the pomp and pride of a luxurious court, and an absolute tyranny: which being considered, it is a wonder how they feed themselves with phansies, who pretend to his restoration, supposing that the golden age must needs return again with him; whereas, alas! they will but be made use of, as the cats paw was, to pick the chesnuts out of the fire for the service of the monkey[a]."—After this the author, addressing himself to the presbyterians, asks, "What can you of the presbyterian judgment expect, but certain ruin to your way and your persons, by a clenching and closing with inconsistent principles? Whereas those that he[b] calls the lesser parties, which are grown up under you, have hitherto allowed the men of your way as great freedom as they do enjoy themselves, and have ad-

[a] Interest will not lye. p. 8 4to. Lond. 1659. [b] The author of a pamphlet, called, the Interest of England stated.

nursed up in the principles of despotism,

mitted you to an equal participation, with others, of that grand priviledge, liberty of conscience, which (however some of you may flatter yourselves) ye can never enjoy under a sort of people that will never be at rest without a ranting episcopacy. Consider," says he, "the animosity naturally inherent in the royal party, and their head against you. They will never leave buzzing in his ears, to quicken his memory, that the interest of your party was in its infancy founded in Scotland, upon the ruin of his great grandmother; continued and improved by the perpetual vexation of his grandfather; and, at length, prosecuted to the decapitating of his father. Be not so weak, as to sooth yourselves, that you shall fare better than others, because you never opposed this gentlemans person: it is ground sufficient for his hatred, that you bandied against his father, and the prerogative, to which he conceives himself heir; and to hate you the more, because the making good of promises to you, would be the clipping of the prerogative.———Again," says he, "consider, that as he hath a most particular antipathie against your party, as the old enemies of his family; so with what promises soever he may sooth you, yet you, of all other men, have least reason to trust him. Had not your party in Scotland an experiment, when they entertained him there, how little conscience he made of all his promises, and how, in a thrice, he shuffled out your presbyterian interest in that nation, and turn'd up trump, the Cavalier?—Trust him then, if you please; and bring him in, if you dare: that by new experiments, to your own sorrow and confusion, you may learn, when it is too late, that it was your true interest, as presbyterians,

and a professed foe to the liberties they

by all means to keep him out of the nation[a]."——— "But if Charles Stuart, say some, were brought in, and settled; then all things would settle too.—For answer for this,—if ye think ye shall be eased of excise, taxes, &c. by letting him in, ye will be miserably mistaken: for these vast charges will presently ensue; 1. A large expence for maintaining the splendor of a royal court; which must be had, either by resuming king, queen, and princes lands; though some think that cannot be done, the thing in itself not being feasible, because of the incredible confusion it would introduce generally upon property; or else, if it cannot be had that way, it must be drained perpetually out of the peoples purses. 2. There must be a course taken to find a reward for foreigners, if any come in (as 'tis past question they will, if a war should go on again); and if they should not come, yet Charles's followers and leaders, the younger brothers, with the sons of fortune, and the brethren of the blade, must all be provided for: at that day, those who have been of no side, shall be found as great sinners as any; and the city of London, who (as the cavalier swears) have gained by the wars, shall be remembred as the beginner of them; and then 'twill be too late for the vapouring companions of the smoaking clubs to say, I, and I, and I, was always (as our neighbours know) a friend of his majesty. 3. Besides the publick debts of the nation, which must be paid, the young man hath innumerable vast debts contracted by himself beyond sea; those must be paid too, and which way, I pray you, but out of the general purse? Think ye then,

[a] Interest will not lye, p. 12—15. 4to. Lond. 1659.

enjoyed.——They, moreover, set forth the

that this is the way to be eased of excise and taxes? The necessities would so increase, by Charles, that they must, upon his coming in, be trebled to what they are now upon you.——And as by his restitution we shall be far from ease of burthen, so we must of necessity be much further from attaining peace and settlement; because the discontents of all parties, which must be taken in, in order to a settlement, will be raised to a higher pitch of animosity.—There had need be extraordinary skill then in tempering mortar, before ye can daub or cement all these together; but that being impossible, the issue will be, that his majesties darling episcopacie, being like to rule the roaste, may think it wisdom to hold in awhile with presbyterie, to make use of her spleen in persecuting and weakening the other dissenting parties, and afterwards wipe the nose of presbyterie itself, and at length attempt to clap them altogether under hatches. Now what would this be, but to put them to begin the world again, to redeem themselves once more from that yoke of antient tyrannie, after it had been but newly cast off? But suppose that the episcopal project may not at present mount so high, yet it will always be trump where there is a Steuart on the throne (for old Charles in his book strictly enjoins it); and what can either of these things produce, but the same necessity of his keeping forces on foot to secure the tyranny in his own and his bishops hands, against the rest of the people, as the parliament is constrained now to do for securing liberty of conscience, and all other rights and liberties of the people, against the return of that tyranny? If so (as things would, certainly, unavoidably so fall out), surely it is evident, the same taxes and payments, as are now,

inutility of his return to the nation in ge-

must be continued under Charles, with additions of new ones, as yet unheard of, to be entailed upon the generations after us[a]." After this the author applies himself to the army, the parliament, and the city of London; to the latter of which bodies of men, he says, "It is evident what a governor for you this pretender would prove, who suckt in his fathers principles with his mothers milk, hath been bred up under the wings of prelacie and popery; and as he suckt both breasts heretofore, so he hangs upon them both at this very day: one who, from the beginning, was engaged against the cause of the commonwealth and your city, and who hath the same counsellors his father had (besides a more intimate acquaintance acquired beyond sea with the Jesuits) to remember him both of the old design, and the ways to effect it; one who hath been bedabled in the blood of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and hath both his fathers and his own scores to clear out of your purses, and hath long made it his business to cajole and cheat all parties, in hopes thereby to get in upon us, with a desperate rabble at his heels, to execute his revenges. What shall we say then of such men, that now make shipwrack of their own principles to seek to let him in, and would be opening sluices of blood, out of their countrymen and nearest relations, for the interest of their own and the publick enemy. As to what concerns your trade, it is easy to guess what will become of that, when it shall be counted reason of state to keep you poor and low. For the inference is ready at hand for him: viz. that if the father complained of

[a] Interest will not lye, p. 21—23. 4to. Lond. 1659.

neral, or to the several parties therein con-

pride and power in you, and hath recorded that from thence proceeded the first causes of his ruin; then the son is concerned to pull down your pride (if I may use the royal phrase), and hold a strong hand over you. And how do you think trade can thrive upon his restitution? when there will be a necessity of trebling taxes, and perpetuating them past remedie, to maintaine another kind of army than we have now, to tame dissenting parties, and to keep the nation in an asinine posture of submission, to bear all burthens that shall be laid, either upon the estate or the conscience, by the lords of the court, and the lordanes of episcopacie. As trade therefore is the particular interest of your city, so be wary, that the want of it at present do not irritate you to fall out with the publick interest of your country; but remember, that it being once settled, trade and all other concernments will soon flourish again; and that the way to settlement must be by giving satisfaction to all parties, which cannot be expected from Ch. Steuart and his party, but may and will be easily had from the way of a free commonwealth; so that all we have to do is, to stick close to the parliament, that they may be enabled to establish it, and employ our utmost to keep him out; because, otherwise, war will follow; and that will inevitably bring on a destruction of trade, with the ruin of religion, liberty, and our renowned city: all which may prosper if you please. 'Tis you that have given all this pail of good milk; and what a thing would it be, that any of you should aim to kick it down in the dirt[a]." —"Trade would be a sufferer by the return of our

[a] Interest will not lye, p. 54. 4to. Lond. 1659.

tained, catholics alone excepted;—the ex-

monarchy," says another commonwealth writer. "What have the best of all their majesties," says he, "that ever reigned in England, done for the encouragement of trade? If they had done any thing material, England had been bound to thank them more than it is. Something, it may be, hath been done for the benefit of particular trades; but trade, in general, hath been little befriended. Trade and tradesmen, all along, hath been the very scorn and envy of the court; not fit to keep a gentleman company, but at a distance, though ten times better than himself in estate; must be looked upon as poor mechanick fellows, notwithstanding in other nations and commonwealths, their best gentry, lords, earls, dukes, hold it no disparagement to trade: hereby trade became of so good esteem, that a gentleman's son should be bred up for the gallows, rather than be dishonoured by a trade. Hence a man might play the good husband, cart, plow, buy and sell hops, sheep, horses, cows, oxen, hens, geese, and yet be a tolerable country 'squire; but a tradesman, no, by no means, the time was when these were not fit to be numbered with the dogs of their flock. It was a noble knack to encourage trade and tradesmen, that care must be had lest they should be too fine, and be mistaken for gentry; and by all means their wives must be dressed according to court directions, lest they should vye gallantry with the madams of prerogative. By all means they must know themselves; and 'tis pity some course is not taken now, that we may know a tradesman from his betters. And however this may rather provoke some to laughter, than a serious thought about it; yet it is not of so light consideration: for whosoever is concerned to keep trade

pensiveness of a regal, compared with a

under, he hath two things to do that will effect it. One is, set trade in a condition of contempt, and this will keep a people of high spirits (where the gentry are highly honoured), it will keep them off from trades, and make them seek their fortunes some other way; and if this prevail, then some reasonable boons may be granted to those few that maintain the trade; for some trade doth well under the greatest tyranny. But if men will be content to be any thing or nothing, to be base and dishonourable, to get riches in a way of trade, and so begin to overstock a monarchy with traders and trade, then follows all manner of gabels and impositions, that, if they will be doing, they shall be sure to have no more than their labour for their pains. How much the flourishing of this city hath been envied, some do yet very well remember; and how it was feared London should grow too big for England. It hath been always a maxim with monarchs, to keep the unruly plebeians from being over-pursey, lest their wits should increase with their wealth, and they should begin to contend for their priviledges; and therefore, to make the conquest compleat, those projectors and patentees were encouraged, with their monopolies, to eat out the heart of trade, and keep the merchant as bare as my nail: which, with some other grievances, was the very beginning and ground of our late quarrel: when although some did arrive to vast estates, by reason of the paucity of tradesmen, scarcely any minding a trade, but such as had very low fortunes to begin, and these living in times of peace and very low jollity. Yet was not this so general a good for the reasons before-mentioned; but so little encouragement was given, that if any gentleman, of a considerable repu-

commonwealth government; the insecurity

tation, had engaged any of his younger children in trade, he should be looked upon to have debased his family for ever, and marred the generosity of his child; being only in a capacity to be put in couples with a hat and a coif; a convenient match for a pair of spatterdashes, and leather breeches; for such were generally those (saving only some few, more serious than the rest) that occupied any trade when they first began their employment. How well the citizens of London would be rewarded, by calling in the Scottish king, for not being like the men of Isachar, crouching under their loads in the late kings time, let those threatning letters of his majesty, to this city, inform those who are so sollicitous for the return of monarchy. Whoever would have trade to flourish in England, must disfranchise two parts in three of those that have served apprenticeships since 1640, or must think of some better expedient than our old monarchy for its advancement; it being abundantly manifest there are too many tradesmen, and well-willers to trade, to thrive under that monarchy, and receive that benefit by it they expect; who, if there were such reasonable encouragement as might be given, would go near to be every second man in the nation. Trade is now grown, and growing into so good esteem, which can never sort with the interest and continuance of monarchy, nor monarchy with it[a]."——The same writer, in another place, points out the danger of men's property, by calling in the late king's son.——"How many purchasers," says he, "are there of bishops lands, dean and chapter lands, delinquents lands, and crown lands, whose fee simple would be no very visible

[a] The Grand Concernments of England secured. 4to. Lond. 1659.

of their consciences, their possessions, and

title, but much worse than tenure in villenage, let any reasonable man imagine. This will not only concern roundheads, but many, who, in other matters, are at no great distance with episcopacy, have their hands full of them, they being bought and sold over and over, many to whose hands this will come, will no doubt be sufficiently sensible hereof. That these are alienated upon as good (if no better) reason, than were the abbey lands, &c. in Henry VIIIth's time, none that were the first buyers had, I believe, any jealousie to the contrary, nor hath any man any thing material to object against it. King and delinquents lands were justly forfeited for raising and levying war upon the parliament: the bishops lands, because those men involved us into those distractions, and abetted and adhered to that party, and drove the chariot of the church so furiously, that they were like to overthrow all; wherefore the state found it good prudence to take down their mettle by making better use of their lands to satisfy publick debts, and so to leave them disabled for the future to disturb our peace, which, if their lands had been preserved, they would have been always attempting to recover, and therewith the government both of church and state too. The other church lands went in company to pay debts, being exposed to forfeiture by the general malignancy of the incumbents; besides, were of no other signification than to maintain a company of lazy lubbers: the nation is hereby generally concerned to secure them their purchases, as these were secured and untouched in Hen. VIII. time. —[But] is it imaginable when he [Charles] shall return king of these nations, he will endure to see the crown lands fallen into the fingers of John an Oaks and John a Stiles, himself king of England and not a foot of

their persons, under a prince, like Charles;

land? could he say, Soul take thine ease, while those loyal hearts that followed him through thick and thin, in peril at sea, remain fleeced of thousands *per annum*, all the church lands gone, and nothing left to oblige those props of prerogative; would this give his majesty a competent satisfaction to sit down and let it rest thus? I trow not. How can he look upon himself as other than a burden to his country, if he must live upon the charity of well-disposed people? such too would be the case of his sequestered adherents; and could this comport with the honour of his majesty? Could he see bishops, deans and chapters, thus brought to desolation, so far from having their kingdom in this world, that they should have scarce a hole to put their heads in; and would not this be a hard chapter? Could he look upon himself under the first consideration, and believe he were the high and mighty prince Charles, king of England, Scotland, &c. or under the second, and not think he had lost the crown of his crown? Could he believe himself defender of the faith? It is come to this issue, either purchasers must be robbed of their estates, for which some of them have paid dear enough, and *ready money*; *or*, he must live upon a *general contribution*: which latter, I have so honourable thoughts of him, as to believe he would not endure: the former would be dishonest, the latter ignoble: the former would be an oppression, the ruine of many; the latter an intollerable burthen to all. How well then will they befriend him, that shall put him upon this dilemma, let our adversaries themselves be judges. Besides, nobody knows how many new delinquents must be made. It would be no easy matter to perswade every man,

and the eternal contempt and infamy they

that hath adhered to the parliament, that their estates should be so much their own, as at the pleasure of prerogative; yea, should the strongest obligations imaginable be fastened on him, to bind up his hands from doing these roundheads and puritans harme; yet would they hardly bind him and his heirs for ever. Whence must come those rewards that our author [the Interest of England stated] promises they shall be sure to find, that have served him in any kind; especially they that are instrumental in his restitution? Certainly want of money, which he must needs be reduced unto, to gratify them, being abundance, almost innumerable swarms of crawling, croaking, creeping things, that helped to undo his father and him in the late wars, will make invincible necessity good reason of state for some arbitrary proceedings; and then this decayed threadbare courtier will beg that roundheaded dog for a ward, add that beggarly cavalier will beg this puritan, that presbyterian the other dependent, or anabaptist for a fool; and, verily, I would have them beg us all for fools, when we have no more wit. And however he may be engaged to forgive us, yet can hardly be obliged to forget us; we shall be as bad as bound to our good behaviour. It must needs be enough (being added to our former transgression) to entitle us to beggary, if not to the gallows, to pisse against a church wall. The cavaliers, that cannot contain themselves from looking us through and through, and cursing us to our faces, while they are scarce yet in so good condition as to call it a state militant, will make no great trouble of it, when they arrive at their state triumphant, to pick a hole in our coats, that they may pick our pockets; and it is wont-

must undergo, by voluntarily submitting to

derful if they do not pick out our eyes[a]."———Milton, whose love of liberty, and of his country, was ever uppermost in his breast, took on him likewise to point out the effects of the restoration of monarchy. His words are too remarkable to be omitted.——"If we return to kingship," says this divine man, "and soon repent (as undoubtedly we shall, when we begin to find the old encroachments coming on by little and little upon our consciences, which must necessarily proceed from king and bishops united inseparably in one interest), we may be forced, perhaps, to fight over again all that we have fought, and spend over again all that we have spent; but are never like to attain thus far as we have now advanced to the recovery of our freedom, never to have it in possession as we now have it, never to be vouchsafed hereafter the like mercies and signal assistances from heaven in our cause, if, by our ungrateful backsliding, we make these fruitless; flying now to regal concessions from his divine condescensions, and gracious answers, to our once-importuning prayers against the tyranny which we then groaned under; making vain, and viler than dirt, the blood of so many thousand faithful and valiant Englishmen, who left us in this liberty, bought with their lives; losing, by a strange after-game of folly, all the battles we have won, together with all Scotland, as to our conquest, hereby lost, which never any of our kings could conquer, all the treasure we have spent, not that corruptible treasure only, but that, far more precious of all, our late miraculous deliverances; treading back again, with lost labour, all our happy

[a] The Grand Concernments of England secured, p. 12. 4to. Lond. 1659.

a yoke, they, at so great an expence of

steps in the progress of reformation, and most pitifully depriving ourselves the instant fruition of that free government which we have so dearly purchased, a free commonwealth, not only held, by wisest men in all ages, the noblest, the manliest, the equallest, the justest government, the most agreeable to all due liberty and proportioned equality, both human, civil, and Christian, most cherishing to virtue and true religion; but also (I may say it with greatest probability) plainly commended, or rather enjoined, by our Saviour himself, to all Christians, not without remarkable disallowance, and the brand of gentilism upon kingship. ——A king must be adored like a demi-god, with a dissolute and haughty court about him, of vast expence and luxury, masks and revels, to the debauching of our prime gentry, both male and female, not in their pastimes only, but in earnest, by the loose employments of court-service, which will be then thought honourable. There will be a queen of no less charge; in most likelihood outlandish and a papist, besides a queen-mother, such already; together with both their courts, and numerous train: then a royal issue, and ere long severally their sumptuous courts; to the multiplying of a servile crew, not of servants only, but of nobility and gentry, bred up then to the hopes not of publick, but of court offices, to be stewards, chamberlains, ushers, grooms, even of the close-stool; and the lower their minds debased with court opinions, contrary to all virtue and reformation, the haughtier will be their pride and profuseness.———As to the burden of expence, to our cost, we shall soon know it; for any good to us, deserving to be termed no better than the vast and lavish price of our subjection, and

blood and treasure, had bravely thrown

their debauchery, which we are now so greedily cheapning, and would so fain be paying most inconsiderately to a single person; who, for any thing wherein the publick really needs him, will have little else to do, but to bestow the eating and drinking of excessive dainties, to set a pompous face upon the superficial actings of state, to pageant himself up and down in a progress among the perpetual bowings and cringings of an abject people, on either side deifying and adoring him for nothing done that can deserve it. For what can he more than another man? who, even in the expression of a late court-poet, sits only like a great cypher set to no purpose before a long row of other significant figures. Nay, it is well and happy for the people, if their king be but a cypher, being oftimes a mischief, a pest, a scourge of the nation, and, which is worse, not to be removed, not to be controuled, much less accused or brought to punishment, without the danger of a common ruin, without the shaking and almost subversion of the whole land: whereas in a free commonwealth, any governor or free counsellor, offending, may be removed and punished without the least commotion. Certainly then that people must needs be mad, or strangely infatuated, that build the chief hope of their common happiness or safety on a single person; who, if he happen to be good, can do no more than another man: if to be bad, hath in his hands to do more evil without check, than millions of other men. The happiness of a nation must needs be firmest and certainest in full and free council of their own electing, where no single person, but reason only, sways: and what madness is it for them who might manage nobly their own affairs themselves, sluggishly

off.——It was, however, all lost labour.

and weakly to devolve all on a single person; and, more like boys under age than men, to commit all to his patronage and disposal, who neither can perform what he undertakes, and yet, for undertaking it, though royally paid, will not be their servant, but their lord? How unmanly must it needs be to count such a one the breath of our nostrils, to hang all our felicity on him, all our safety, our well-being, for which, if we were ought else but sluggards or babies, we need depend on none but God and our own counsels, our own active virtue and industry?——It may be well wondered that any nation, stiling themselves free, can suffer any man to pretend hereditary right over them as their lord; whenas by acknowledging that right, they conclude themselves his servants and his vassals, and so renounce their own freedom. Which how a people, and their leaders especially, can do, who have fought so gloriously for liberty; how they can change their noble words and actions, heretofore so becoming the majesty of a free people, into the base necessity of court flatteries and prostrations; is not only strange and admirable, but lamentable to think on. That a nation should be so valorous and couragious to win their liberty in the field, and, when they have won it, should be so heartless and unwise in their counsels, as not to know how to use, value it, what to do with it or themselves; but, after ten or twelve years prosperous war and contestation with tyranny, basely and besottedly run their necks again into the yoke which they have broken, and prostrate all the fruits of their victory, for nought, at the feet of the vanquished; besides, our loss of glory, and such an example as kings or tyrants never yet had the like to boast of,

No attention was given to them. The

will be an ignominy, if it befall us, that never yet befell any nation possessed of their liberty; worthy indeed themselves, whatsoever they be, to be for ever slaves; but that part of the nation which consents not with them, as I persuade me of a great number, far worthier than by their means to be brought into the same bondage.—But admit that monarchy may be convenient to some nations; yet to us who have thrown it out, received back again, it cannot but prove pernicious. For kings to come, never forgetting their former ejection, will be sure to fortify and arm themselves sufficiently for the future against all such attempts hereafter from the people; who shall then be so narrowly watched, and kept so low, that, though they would never so fain, and at the same rate of their blood and treasure, they shall never be able to regain what they now have purchased and may enjoy, or to free themselves from any yoke imposed upon them: nor will they dare to go about it; utterly disheartened for the future, if these their highest attempts prove unsuccessful: which will be the triumph of all tyrants hereafter over any people that shall resist oppression; and their song will then be to others, *How sped the rebellious English? To our posterity, How sped the rebels, your fathers?*—Yet neither shall we obtain or buy, at an easy rate, this new gilded yoke which thus transports us: a new royal revenue must be found, a new episcopal; for those are individual: both which being wholly dissipated, or bought by private persons, or assigned for service done, and especially to the army, cannot be recovered without general detriment and confusion to mens estates, or a heavy imposition on all mens purses; benefit to none but the worst and ig-

disposition of the people, aided by the noblest sort of men, whose hope is either to be the ministers of court-riot and excess, or the gainers by it. But not to speak more of losses and extraordinary levies upon our estates, what will be the revenges and offences remembered and returned, not only by the chief person, but by all his adherents; accounts and reparations that will be required, suits and indictements, inquiries, discoveries, complaints, informations, who knows against whom or how many? though perhaps neuters, if not to utmost infliction, yet to imprisonment, fines, banishment, or molestation? if not these, yet disfavour, discountenance, disregard and contempt on all, but the known royalist or whom he favours, will be plenteous. Nor let the new royalized presbyterians persuade themselves that their old doings, though now recanted, will be forgotten; whatever conditions be contrived or trusted on. Will they not believe this; nor remember the pacification how it was kept to the Scots, how other solemn promises many a time to us? Let them but now read the diabolical forerunning libels, the faces, the gestures that now appear foremost and briskest in all publick places, as the harbingers of those that are in expectation to reign over us; let them but hear the insolencies, the menacings, the insultings of our newly animated common enemies crept lately out of their holes, their hell, I might say, by the language of their infernal pamphlets, the spue of every drunkard, every ribald; nameless, yet not for want of license, but for very shame of their own vile persons, not daring to name themselves, while they traduce others by name; and give us to foresee, that they intend to second their wicked words, if ever they have power, by more

wicked deeds. Let our zealous backsliders forethink now with themselves, how their necks yoked with these tygers of Bacchus, these new fanatics of not the preaching but the sweating-tub, inspired with nothing holier than the venereal pox, can draw one way under monarchy to the establishing of church-discipline with these new disgorged atheisms; yet shall they not have the honour to yoke with these, but shall be yoked under them; these shall plow on their backs. And do they among them who are so forward to bring in the single person, think to be by him trusted or long regarded? So trusted they shall be, and so regarded, as by kings are wont reconciled enemies; neglected and soon after discarded, if not prosecuted for old traytors; the first inciters, beginners, and more than to the third part actors of all that followed. It will be found also, that there must be then, as necessarily as now (for the contrary part will still be feared), a standing army, which for certain shall not be this, but of the fiercest cavaliers of no less expence, and, perhaps, again under Rupert. But let this army be sure they shall be soon disbanded, not be sure but they may as soon be questioned for being in arms against the king: the same let them fear, who have contributed money; which will amount to no small number that must then take their turn to be delinquents and compounders. They who past reason and recovery are devoted to kingship, perhaps, will answer, that a greater part by far of the nation will have it so; the rest therefore must yield. Not so much to convince these, which I little hope, as to confirm them who yield not, I reply; that this greatest part have, both in reason and the trial of just battle, lost the right of their election of what the government shall be: of them who have not lost that right, whether

they for kingship be the greater number, who can certainly determine? Suppose they be, yet of freedom they partake all alike, one main end of government: which if the greater part value not, but will degenerately forego, is it just or reasonable that most voices, against the main end of government, should enslave the less number that would be free? More just it is, doubtless, if it come to force, that a less number compel a greater to retain, which can be no wrong to them, their liberty, than that a greater number, for the pleasure of their baseness, compel a less most injuriously to be their fellow-slaves. They who seek nothing but their own just liberty, have always right to win it, and to keep it, whenever they have power, be the voices never so numerous that oppose it. And how much we above others are concerned to defend it from kingship, and from them who, in pursuance thereof, so perniciously would betray us and themselves to most certain misery and thraldom, will be needless to repeat[*]."——What sense, what observation, what experience, are manifested in these extracts? Were not the writers of them prophets, or more than prophets?——Events will determine. Milton's close of his "Ready and easy way to establish a free Commonwealth," from whence I have extracted the above, is so strong and pathetic, that I cannot do justice to my subject but by adding it.——"I have no more," says he, "to say, at present. Few words will save us, well considered: few and easy things, now seasonably done. But if the people be so affected, as to prostitute religion and liberty to the vain and groundless apprehension, that nothing but kingship can restore trade, not remembring the frequent plagues

[*] Milton's Prose Works, vol. I. p. 645—650.

and pestilences that then wasted this city; such as, through God's mercy, we have never felt since; and that trade flourishes no where more than in the free commonwealths of Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries, before their eyes at this day: yet if trade be grown so craving and importunate, through the profuse living of tradesmen, that nothing can support it but the luxurious expences of a nation upon trifles or superfluities; so as if the people should generally betake themself to frugality, it might prove a dangerous matter lest tradesmen should mutiny for want of trading; and that therefore we must forego and set to sale religion, liberty, honour, safety, all concernments, divine and human, to keep up trading: if, lastly, after all this light upon us, the same reason shall pass for current, to put our necks again under kingship, as was made use of by the Jews to return back to Egypt, and to the worship of their idol queen, because they falsely imagined that they then lived in more plenty and prosperity; our condition is not sound but rotten, both in religion and all civil prudence; and will bring us soon, the way we are marching, to those calamities which attend always and unavoidably on luxury, all national judgments under foreign and domestic slavery: so far we shall be from mending our condition by monarchizing our government, whatever new conceit now possesses us. However, with all hazard, I have ventured what I thought my duty to speak in season, and to forewarn my country in time; wherein I doubt not there be many wise men, in all places and degrees, but am sorry the effects of wisdom are so little seen among us. Many circumstances and particulars I could have added, in those things whereof I have spoken: but a few main matters, now put speedily in execution, will suffice to recover us, and set all

deep dissimulation of Moncke, brought

right: and there will want, at no time, who are good at circumstances; but men who set their minds on main matters, and sufficiently urge them, in these most difficult times, I find not many. What I have spoken, is the language of that which is not called amiss, The good old cause. If it seem strange to any, it will not seem more strange, I hope, than convincing to backsliders. Thus much I should perhaps have said, tho' I were sure I should have spoken only to trees and stones; and had none to cry to, but with the prophet, O earth, earth, earth! to tell the very soil itself what her perverse inhabitants are deaf to. Nay, though what I have spoke should happen (which thou suffer not, who didst create mankind free; nor thou, next, who didst redeem us from being the servants of men!) to be the last words of our expiring liberty. But, I trust, I shall have spoken persuasion to abundance of sensible and ingenuous men; to some, perhaps, whom God may raise of these stones to become children of reviving liberty; and may reclaim, though they now seem chusing them a captain back for Egypt, to bethink themselves a little, and consider whither they are rushing: to exhort this torrent also of the people, not to be so impetuous, but to keep their due channel; and at length recovering and uniting their better resolutions, now that they see already how open and unbounded the insolence and rage is of our common enemies, to stay these ruinous proceedings, justly and timely fearing to what a precipice of destruction the deluge of this epidemick madness would hurry us, through the general defection of a misguided and abused multitude[a]."

[a] Milton's Prose Works, vol. I. p. 652.

about the restoration of Charles [37], to the

[37] The disposition of the people, aided by the dissimulation of Moncke, brought about the restoration of Charles.] Moncke was a soldier of fortune. Born of an ancient but decayed family, in Devonshire, he took to the military life, and behaved always with remarkable bravery. He first served the king: afterwards the parliament: next the Cromwells: and then again the parliament; to whom, even after their second interruption, he professed to adhere against all parties. This, however, in the opinion of some, was mere pretence, in order the better to conceal his engagements with the royalists, to whom he is said to have been well affected [a]: whilst others think he had no settled purpose and resolution of restoring Charles, till he found the stream running violently that way, and that there was no resisting it, consistently with the views of ambition and avarice, with which he was well known to be actuated, as well as his own personal safety [b]. If this be true, and very probably it is so, as Fairfax, on a conference with him, could discover no thought in him of declaring for the king; and as the royalists, at home and abroad, seemed very doubtful of his intentions, till after the admission of the secluded members: I say, as this seems to be the case, possibly he might then intend what he meant. For as he only commanded the army in Scotland, the post of commander in chief of the forces in England and Scotland, from which Fleetwood had been voted by the parliament, might be the object of his ambition; and fidelity to them, in his then view of things, the method to ob-

[a] See Ludlow, vol. II. p. 695; and Skinner's Life of Moncke, p. 274.
[b] See Clarendon, vol. VI. p. 702, 709. Burnet, vol. I. p. 84: and Ormonde's Papers, vol. II. p. 304, 305, 307.

admiration and astonishment of the neigh-

tain it. This, probably, occasioned the declarations, signed by himself and the officers, in which they say, "that they shall, through the strength of God, assert and maintain the freedom and priviledge of the present parliament, that was so often and lately acknowledged the supream authority of the nations, and not suffer the members thereof to be illegally interrupted or molested in the discharge of their duties[a]." And Moncke himself wrote a letter to the speaker, from Edinburgh, dated Oct. 20, 1659, to assure him, "that he was resolved, by the grace and assistance of God, as a true Englishman, to stand to and assert the liberty and authority of parliament: and the army here," says he, "(praised be God) is very couragious and unanimous, and, I doubt not, but to give a good account of this action to you.——I do call God to witness, that the asserting of a commonwealth is the only intent of my heart; and I desire, if possible, to avoid the shedding of blood, and therefore entreat you that there may be a good understanding between parliament and army: but if they will not obey your commands, I will not desert you, according to my duty and promise[b]." And in a letter, of the same date, to Fleetwood, he "takes God to witness, that he had no farther ends than the establishing of parliamentary authority, and those good laws that our ancestors have purchased with so much blood, the settling the nations in a free commonwealth, and the defence of godliness and godly men, though of different judgments[c]." In several other papers, which he caused to be printed and dispersed, he talked in the same strain. The officers of the English

[a] True Narrative, p. 25. [b] Id. p. 28. [c] Id. p. 30.

bouring nations.———And wonderful it

army, who had assumed the supreme power, alarmed at these bold declarations, and knowing they might expect him, in consequence of them, in England, where he could not fail, if he made any progress, of acquiring additional strength, ordered several regiments towards the north, under the command of Lambert. This was on the twenty-ninth of the same month. Lambert, accordingly, advanced. In the mean time, to prevent effusion of blood, a treaty was set on foot, between Fleetwood and Moncke, the latter of which thereby gained time, and reaped considerable advantage. For the chief leaders in the parliament had the interest and address to divide the army in England, and to possess some of the most important places; by which means, with the addition of Moncke's forces, they obtained such a superiority as enabled them to re-assume their authority; to render ineffectual Lambert's expedition; and to reward Moncke for his fidelity and good conduct. For though suspicions of him were gone abroad, and many discerning men thought he masked his intentions; yet he had managed matters so well, as to be believed by Hasilrig and his party, who had the lead in affairs at this crisis. What induced the belief of the parliament was, that Moncke always referred every thing to them, and never let fall any thing which savoured of a disinclination to their authority. The gentry of Devon had sent up a petition to the speaker to be delivered to the parliament, desiring "the admission of the secluded members, and the filling up the vacant places, and all to be admitted without any oath and engagement previous to their entrance[a]." What

[a] Mercurius Politicus, No. 603. p. 1035.

was, truly, that a prince, banished, and

the real intent of this was, was visible. Moncke therefore took the liberty to write a letter, to be communicated to the petitioners; in which he "represented," as he said, "to their consideration, his present apprehensions of the state of affairs here, in order to all our better satisfactions; wherein he humbly craved their leave of freedom without prejudice. Before these unhappy wars," continues he, "the government of these nations was monarchical in church and state. These wars have given birth and growth to several interests both in church and state, heretofore not known, though now, upon many accounts, very considerable; as the presbyterian, independent, anabaptist, and sectaries of all sorts, as to ecclesiastics; and the purchasers of the king's, queen's, princes, bishops, deans and chapters, and all other forfeited estates, and all those engaged in these wars against the king as to civils. These interests again are so interwoven by purchasers and intermarriages, and thereby forfeited, as, I think, upon rational grounds it may be taken for granted, that no government can be either good, peaceful, or lasting, to these nations, that doth not rationally include and comprehend the security and preservation of all the foresaid interests, both civil and spiritual: I mean so far as, by the word of God, they are warranted to be protected and preserved. If this be so, then the government under which we formerly were, both in state and church, viz. monarchy, cannot possibly be admitted for the future in these nations; because its support is taken away, and because it is exclusive of all the former interests, both civil and spiritual, all of them being incompatible with monarchical uniformity in church and state thus ex-

proscribed, in the midst of poverty and

pired. That government then that is most able to comprehend and protect all interests as aforesaid, must needs be republick. Wherefore to me it is no small doubt, if, upon the premises, to admit of the members secluded 1648, were not to obstruct our peace, and continue our war, rather than establish the one, and end the other; in that very many of those members assert the monarchical interest, together with the abolition of all laws made since their seclusion: which, I fear, upon account of self-preservation both of life and estate, as well as spiritual liberty, will immediately involve all these nations in a most horrid and bloody war afresh, the very apprehension whereof, I confess, I do infinitely dread, and submit the dangerous consequence thereof to your prudent considerations; and the rather, seeing the army also will never endure it. Having now briefly laid before you the present condition of affairs, let me now intreat you to consider, whether it were not better to desist from that paper, and to submit to the proceedings of this parliament, who have resolved to fill up their house, determine their sitting, and prepare a way for future successions of parliament: by which means, being full, and thereby comprehending the whole interest of these nations, they may, through God's mercy, and all our patiences, establish such a government, in the way of a commonwealth, as may be comprehensive of all interests both spiritual and civil, to the glory of God, and the weal and peace of the whole. But if, by your impatiences, they be obstructed, our peace will be so much the longer a stranger to us; and we, thereby, a prey to ourselves, and all foreign enemies[a]."

[a] Kennet's Register and Chronicle, p. 32.

distress, unallied and unconcerned for by

——This letter is dated Leicester, Jan. 21, 1659, as Monck was in march to London, attended by Scot and Robinson, commissioners from the parliament, whom he treated with much respect. The same manner of speech he constantly used in his journey; and, when arrived at London, he, for a time, retained it. On the 6th of February, 1659, the general was introduced into the house, and thanked by the speaker "for his eminent services." In reply, he told them "that, as he marched from Scotland, he observed the people in most counties, in great and earnest expectations of settlement.——The chiefest heads of their desires," added he, "were for a free and full parliament, and that you would determine your sitting; a gospel ministry, encouragement of learning and universities, and for admittance of the members secluded before 1648, without any previous oath or engagement. To which I commonly answered, that you are now in a free parliament: and if there be any force remaining upon you, I would endeavour to remove it: and that you had voted to fill up your house, and then you would be a full parliament also; and that you had already determined your sitting: and for the ministry, their maintenance, the laws, and universities, you had largely declared in your last declaration; and I was confident you would adhere to it. But as to those gentlemen, excluded in the year 1648, I told them, you had given judgment in it; and all people ought to acquiesce in that judgment. But to admit any members to sit in parliament without a previous oath or engagement to secure the government in being, it was never yet done in England. And although I said it not then, I must say it, with pardon to you, that the

his fellow-princes, should be thus almost

less oaths and engagements are imposed (with respect had to the common cause), your settlement will be the sooner attained to. I am the more particular in these matters, to let you see, how grateful your present consultations about these things will be to the people. I know, all the sober gentry will heartily close with you, if they may be tenderly and gently used; and I am sure you will so use them, as knowing it to be our common concern to expatiate, and not narrow our interest: and to be careful that neither the cavalier, or the phanatic party, have yet a share in your civil or military power[a]." All this has the air of much sincerity; and if Moncke at this time dissembled, he must have had a very rare hand at it! Milton certainly thought him sincere in his declaration to the parliament[b]. But the general rested not in words. The house, being provoked by the city of London's refusing to pay taxes without they were imposed by a free parliament, had ordered forces to march therein, to reduce it to obedience; to take away the post, and chains; unhinge the gates, and wedge in the portcullises: to seize any of the late officers concerned in the interruption of the parliament, who had been ordered to leave the town; and some of the citizens, most active in opposing their authority[c]. The care of this was committed to Moncke; who secured most of the citizens, and took down the posts, chains, gates, and portcullises, amidst the murmurings and execrations of the people. This was a rash act in the parliament; and as rash a one in Moncke, supposing him to have those

[a] Kennet's Register and Chronicle, p. 49. [b] Milton's Prose Works, p. 641. [c] Journal, Feb. 9, 1659.

unanimously invited back, and received

views then which he shortly after had. For, on that supposition, he should carefully have avoided provoking a body of men so respectable, on account of their wealth and influence in the kingdom. But he seemed intent only on pleasing his masters, and evidencing the sincerity of his professions of obedience to them. However, from this time he appears to me to have changed his sentiments, and to have determined to take the management of affairs chiefly into his own hands. He was become sensible of his imprudence in disobliging the city; and therefore set himself by every method to regain their good will. He spoke "of the execution of the parliaments orders as grievous to him, and the officers and soldiers under his command; and that," continues he, "because we do not remember any such thing that was acted upon this city in all these wars: and we fear that many sober people are much grieved at it, and apprehend further force to be offered to them, while they seem principally to desire the speedy filling up of the house, which you have declared for, as well as we have express'd our just desires of, and are apt to doubt lest what we have done may be so far from answering the expected end, as that it may encrease the discomposure of mens spirits in the nation." This was written in a letter to the parliament, dated Feb. 11, two days after the expedition against the city, and signed by the general and his officers. After this they go on to censure many of the proceedings of the parliament: and then, in the style of authority, say,—"We would desire, that, whilst you sit, your utmost endeavours may be to manifest your affectionate desires for the publick good of these nations. Our farther desire

with the loudest acclamations! and equally

is, that those regiments under your consideration (whose officers are not) may be speedily pass'd. And in regard we find that the grand cause of the present heats and dissatisfactions in the nation is, because they are not fully represented in parliament; and seeing no other probable expedient, whereby to keep the nation in peace, than by filling up your number; we must therefore make this our main desire, upon which we cannot but insist, that you would proceed to issue forth writs in order to elections; for the better effecting whereof, we entreat, that you would conclude upon due and full qualifications: that not only those who have been actually in arms against the parliament may be excluded; but all such who, in the late wars betwixt king and parliament, have declared their disaffection to the parliament. And because the distracted condition of this nation is, at this hour, so evident and pressing; we are constrained, for the just maintenance of your authority, and the satisfaction of all true Englishmen, earnestly to desire, that all the writs may be issued forth by Friday next, returnable at the usual and legal time: for we think it convenient to acquaint you, that, to pacify the minds of this great city, in the prosecution of your late command, the chief of us did give assurance thereof. And we must not forget to remember you, that the time hastens wherein you have declared your intended dissolution; which the people and ourselves desire you would be punctual in. Hereby the suspicion of your perpetuation will be taken away; and the people will have assurance that they shall have a succession of parliaments of their own election; which is the undoubted right of the English nation. You have promised and

wonderful it was, that the parliament, cho-

declared no less; both the people and your armies do live in the hope and expectation of it. That we may the better wait for your full and free concurrence to these just desires on the nations behalf, upon mature deliberation, we have thought it our duty, as to continue the usual guards for the safety of your sitting; so, for the present, to draw the rest of the forces under our command into the city, formerly renowned for their resolute adhering to parliamentary authority; and we hope that the same spirit will be found still to breathe amongst the best, most considerable, and interested persons there[a]." Thus was the parliament treated by the man who had so much cried up their authority; who was looked on as their saviour; for whom they had done every thing he could reasonably ask; and who might have had from them almost what he pleased! But it was the lot of this parliament to be ill treated by their own servants; by men whom they had most obliged, and in whom they had most confided! A caution to posterity, not to trust the power of the sword too much or too long in the same hands; lest military men bear rule, and order every thing according to their own good pleasure.——After this, Moncke devoted himself to the citizens; and, in compliance with their inclinations, prevailed with the parliament, who had now no power to resist the torrent, to admit the secluded members; who soon fell to vacate all orders which were displeasing to them, or contrary to their views[b]. The eyes of those who had applauded Moncke, and lifted him up to his present height, were now opened. They saw themselves de-

[a] Parliamentary Hist. vol. XXII. p. 101. [b] See Whitlocke, p. 696.

sen in view of this event, should, contrary

ceived: and, what was more, contemned[a]. But as this behaviour was alarming to many who had been concerned in public affairs; and as the soldiery in the nation, of whom Moncke's army made by far the least part, might penetrate his views, which few sensible men could be ignorant of; he endeavoured to impose on them by the same talk he had used from the beginning. In a letter from the lord general Moncke, and the officers here, to the several and respective regiments, and other forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, dated Whitehall, Feb. 21, 1659, we find the following expressions: "We desire to take God to witness, that we have no intentions or purposes to return to our old bondage: but since the providence of God hath made us free at the cost of so much blood, we hope we shall never be found so unfaithful to God and his people, as to lose so glorious a cause: but we do resolve, with the assistance of God, to adhere to you in the continuing of our dear-purchased liberties, both spiritual and civil. The reason of our proceedings in this manner [the admission of the secluded members], may seem strange; but if you duly consider the necessity of our affairs, and the present state of things, you will certainly conclude nothing so safe to secure publick interest, and to engage the nations peaceably to submit to a free state. ——And as we are confident the present parliament, now sitting, will not repeal any of the acts, ordinances, or orders of this parliament, for sales, or public disposition of lands; so we shall in our station observe, and cause to be observed, all other acts and ordinances of

[a] See Ludlow, vol. II. p. 866.

to sense, honesty, justice, and the security

this parliament, whatsoever; and humbly interpose with the next succeeding parliament, not only to pass a farther act of confirmation of all such sales and dispositions of lands here and in Scotland, but also of all the distributions and dispositions of lands and houses in Ireland, to the soldiery, adventurers, or any other persons, made by or in pursuance of any of the acts, ordinances, or orders, of this present parliament, or any pretended parliamentary authority. And we entreat you to send up an officer, to give, to the lord general Moncke, an account of your acquiescence with us herein: and if any disaffected persons shall hereby take occasion to make disturbance of the peace of the commonwealth, either in favour of Charles Stuart or any other pretended authority, we desire you to secure them, till the pleasure of the parliament or council of state be known in that behalf[a]." And in a discourse, which was read on the same day, at Whitehall, to the secluded members, by his direction, he expressed himself strongly in behalf of a commonwealth government. "I thought," said he, "to assure you, and that in the presence of God, that I have nothing before my eyes but Gods glory, and the settlement of these nations upon commonwealth foundations. In pursuit whereof, I shall think nothing too dear; and for my own particular, I shall throw myself down at your feet, to be any thing or nothing, in order to these great ends. As to the way of future settlement, far be it from me to impose any thing: I desire you may be in perfect freedom. Only give me leave to mind you, that the

[a] Mercurius Politicus, No. 608, p. 1120.

of the rights and liberties of the nation;

old foundations are, by Gods providence, so broken, that, in the eye of reason, they cannot be restored, but upon the ruins of the people of these nations, that have engaged for their rights in the defence of the parliament, and the great and main ends of the covenant, for uniting and making the Lords name one in the three nations: and also the liberty of the peoples representatives in parliament, will be certainly lost. For if the people find, that, after so long and bloody a war against the king for breaking in upon their liberties, yet, at last, he must be taken in again; it will be out of question, and is most manifest, he may for the future govern by his will, dispose of parliaments, and parliament men, as he pleaseth, and yet the people will never more rise for their assistance. As for the interests of this famous city (which hath been in all ages the bulwark of parliaments, and unto whom I am, for their great affection, so deeply engaged), certainly it must lie in a commonwealth; that government only being capable to make them (through the Lords blessing) the metropolis and bank of trade for all Christendom, whereunto God and nature hath fitted them, above all others. And as to a government in the church, the want whereof hath been no small cause of these national distractions, it is most manifest, that, if it be monarchical in the state, the church must follow, and prelacy must be brought in; which these nations, I know, cannot bear, and against which they have so solemnly sworne. And, indeed, moderate, not rigid, presbyterian government, with a sufficient liberty for consciences truly tender, appears, at present, to be the most indifferent and acceptable way to the churches settlement. The main thing that seems to lie in the

that the parliament, I say, should permit

way, is the interest of the lords; even of those lords that have shewed themselves noble indeed, by joining with the people; and in defence of those just rights, have adventured their dearest blood and large estates. To that I shall only say, that though the state of these nations be such as cannot bear their sitting in a distinct house; yet, certainly, the wisdom of parliament will find out such hereditary marks of honor for them, as may make them more noble in after-ages [a]."—What dissimulation, what hypocrisy this! No one surely will pretend to doubt of the falshood of Moncke in these transactions; or scruple to condemn him for it. Ludlow assures us, and his word will be taken by every one who knows the honesty of the man and the consistency of his narratives with the journals of the commons and other the most authentic authorities of these times: Ludlow, I say, assures us, that, after the admission of the secluded members, "some of the members of the lawful parliament went to Moncke, to be informed, from his own mouth, of the reasons of these proceedings. He received them with no less civility than formerly; and having understood from them the occasion of their coming, he made as solemn protestations of his zeal to a commonwealth government as he had ever done: desiring them to believe, that the permission he had given to the secluded members to enter the house, was only to free himself from their importunity; and that he would take effectual care to prevent them from doing any hurt in that place. But these gentlemen, having resolved to try him to the utmost, demanded farther, if he would join

[a] Mercurius Politicus, No. 608, p. 1121.

him to ascend the throne, without any conditions, or engagements.

with them against Charles Stuart and his party? In answer to which, he applied himself to Sir Arthur Hasilrig, who was one of them, and said, Sir Arthur, I have often declared to you my resolution so to do. Then taking off his glove, and putting his hand within Sir Arthurs, he added, I do here protest to you, in the presence of all these gentlemen, that I will oppose, to the utmost, the setting up of Charles Stuart, a single person, or a house of peers. After this, he began to expostulate with them, touching their suspicions; saying, What is it that I have done in bringing these members into the house? Are they not the same that brought the king to the block? tho' others cut off his head, and that justly [a]." After this, little followed but devices to weaken and suppress the commonwealth party, and to raise the hopes of the royalists. Some of the most active men, among the former, were deprived of their commands, committed to prison, or obliged to fly for safety. And to point out what was in view the more strongly, it was resolved, "That the engagement, which after Cromwells government had been again revived, should be discharg'd, and taken off the file [b];" and "that the actings of the house, enforced by the pressing necessities of the present times, were not intended in the least to infringe, much less to take away, that antient native right, which the house of peers, consisting of the lords who did engage in the cause of the parliament, against the forces raised in the name of the late king, and so continued until

[a] Ludlow, vol. II. p. 846. [b] Journal, March 13, 1659.

To whom the nation was indebted for this act of treachery and baseness, is worthy

1648, had, and have, to be a part of the parliament of England [a]."

This was open.——But to shew that they were not lost wholly to all sense of their own and the public safety, they had before resolved, "That all and every person, and persons, who advised, or voluntarily aided, abetted, or assisted, in any war against the parliament, since the first of January, 1641, unless he or they had since manifested their good affections to this parliament, should be incapable to be elected to serve members in the next parliament [b]:" which was to be called and held on the 25th day of April, 1660; and which, in pursuance of this act, actually assembled, and soon after, May 5th, called in Charles and his dependents. —Thus was this parliament, consisting of some of the wisest, ablest, most industrious men this nation ever saw, over-reached by Moncke, who was no accomplished courtier or statesman [c]! An arrant hypocrite we have seen he was; but his hypocrisy would have been of no avail against the wisdom of his masters, had it not been seconded by divisions amongst themselves, and by the general voice of the people, which it was next to impossible for the one or the other to have withstood. "The usurped powers," says Sir William Temple, "that had either designed no root, or, at least had drawn none, but only in the affections and interests of those that were engaged with the government, thought themselves secure in the strength

[a] Journal, 10th March, 1659. [b] Id. March 13. [c] Whitlock, p. 677.

of enquiry [38].—On the eighth day of May,

of an unfoiled army of above sixty thousand men, and in a revenue proportionable, raised by the awe of their forces, though with the mock forms of legal supplies by pretended parliaments; yet we saw them forced to give way to the bent and current humour of the people, in favour of their antient and lawful government; and this mighty army, of a sudden, lose their heart and their strength, abandon what they so long called their cause and their interest, and content themselves to be moulded again into the mass of the people; and by conspiring with the general humour of the nation, make way for the kings glorious restoration, without a drop of blood drawn in the end of a quarrel, the beginning and course whereof had been so fatal to the kingdom [a]."

[38] To whom the nation was indebted for the admission of Charles, without conditions, is worthy of enquiry.] The admission of the king, in the circumstances in which affairs then stood, might have been a right step, as it was the only probable means, amidst so many different parties and interests, so much hatred and animosity, of restoring the public tranquillity, and fixing the government on lasting foundations. For there was not virtue enough in the age to sacrifice private resentments, and private interests, to the public good; and to submit to that equality, on which a true commonwealth must be founded. The nation in general, as we have seen, were desirous of the restoration of the king; and every nation has an undoubted right to chuse the form of government to which they are to submit. Who were the instruments of bringing

[a] Sir W. Temple's Works, vol. I. p. 55. 8vo. Lond. 1757.

one thousand six hundred and sixty, Charles

about this great change; who the authors of its being made in the manner it was; are the questions that are now to be decided.

As to the first, it was, properly, the presbyterians: the men who had opposed Charles the First, and, to their honour, would not consent to his re-admission to the government, but upon terms. Of this party, were the secluded members: who were very popular in the nation; who had always given uneasiness to the commonwealth government, and to Cromwell; and, after their re-admission into the house, set at liberty Booth, Lauderdale, and others, who were confined on account of adhering to the royal cause.——"Hollis told me," says Burnet, "the presbyterians pressed the royalists to be quiet, and to leave the game in their hands: for their appearing would give jealousy, and hurt that which they meant to promote. He, and Ashley Cooper, Grimstone, and Annesly, met often with Manchester, Roberts, and the rest of the presbyterian party; and the ministers of London were very active in the city: so that when Moncke came up, he was pressed to declare himself. At first, he would only declare for the parliament that Lambert had forced. But there was then a great fermentation all over the nation. Moncke and the parliament grew jealous of one another; even while they tried who could give the best words, and express their confidence in the highest terms, of one another."——And in another place, he says, "Shaftesbury, Anglesey, Hollis, Manchester, and Roberts, had the chief hand in engaging the nation in the design of the restoration. They had great credit, chiefly with the presbyterian party; and were men of much dexterity: so that the thanks of that great turn was ow-

II. was proclaimed; and in the proclama-

ing to them[a]." Lord Clarendon writes, "that Moncke was present at Northumberland House, in a conference with that earl, the earl of Manchester, and other lords; and likewise with Hollis, Sir William Waller, Lewis, and other eminent persons; who had a trust and confidence in each other, and who were looked upon as the heads and governors of the moderate presbyterian party; who, most of them, would have been contented, their own security being provided for, that the king should be restored to his full rights, and the church to its possessions. In this conference, the kings restoration was proposed in direct terms; as absolutely necessary to the peace of the kingdom, and for the satisfaction of the people: and the question seemed only to be, upon what terms they should admit him; some proposing more moderate, others more severe conditions. In this whole debate, the general [Moncke] insisted upon the most rigid propositions; which he pressed in such a manner, that the lords grew jealous that he had such an aversion from restoring the king, that it would not be safe for them to prosecute that advice; and therefore it were best to acquiesce till the parliament met, and that they could make some judgment of the temper of it[b]."——Baxter, speaking of these transactions, says, "Sir William Morrice, and Mr. Clarges, were Monckes great advisers. The earl of Manchester, Mr. Calamy, and other presbyterians, encouraged and perswaded him to bring in the king: at first he joined with the Rump against the citizens, and pulled down the city gates to master them: but at last, Sir Thomas Allen, then lord mayor (by the per-

[a] Burnet, vol. I. p. 85, and p. 98. [b] Clarendon, vol. VI. p. 738.

tion, which had the approbation of both

swasion of Dr. Jacomb, and some other presbyterian ministers and citizens, as he hath oft told me himself), invited Moncke into the city, and drew him to agree and join with them against the Rump (as they then called the relicts of the parliament). And this, in truth, was the act that turned the scales, and brought in the king. After this, the old excluded members of the parliament meet with Moncke; he calleth them to sit, and that the king might come in both by him and by them. He agreeth with them to sit but a few days; and then dissolve themselves, and call another parliament. They consented, and prepared for the kings restoration; and appointed a council of state, and dissolved themselves. Another parliament is chosen, which calleth in the king; the council of state having made further preparations for it. For when the question was, Whether they should call in the king upon treaty and covenant (which some thought best for him and the nation), the council resolved absolutely to trust him, Mr. A[nnesly], especially perswading them so to do[a]."———And in another place, he observes, "that Moncke came on, but still declared for a commonwealth against monarchy: till, at last, when he saw all ripened thereto, he declared for the king. The chief men, as far as I can learn," continues he, "that turned his resolution to bring in the king, were, Mr. Clarges, and Sir William Morrice his kinsman; and the petitions and affections of the city of London, principally moved by Mr. Calamy and Mr. Ash, two antient, leading, able ministers, with Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, Dr. Jacomb, and other ministers of London,

[a] Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, part I. p. 105.

houses, it was asserted, "that, immediately,

who concurred: and these were encouraged by the earl of Manchester, the lord Holl's, the late earl of Anglesey [Annesly], and many of the then council of state: and the members of the old parliament, that had been formerly ejected, being recalled, did dissolve themselves, and appoint the calling of a parliament which might recal the king[a]."———Lord Warrington, son of Sir George Booth, asserts, that "it was the presbyterians who were chiefly instrumental in his majesty's restoration; whilst others, who called themselves the royal party, sate still to see the game play'd: and when they saw which way the scales would turn, were ready to applaud the victor, let it fall to which side it would[b]."———These authorities, I suppose, may be sufficient to evince, that the presbyterians were principally concerned in the restoration of Charles II.———But, zealous and active as these men were to introduce his majesty, they were not quite so wrong-headed as to imagine he ought to be admitted without conditions.———"All persons here," says lord Northumberland, in a letter to lord Leicester, dated London, Ap. 13, 1660, "shew strong inclinations to bring in the king, and re-establish the government upon the old foundation. Some there are, that would have him restored to all, without any condition, only an act of oblivion, and general pardon to be granted; but the soberer people will, I believe, expect terms of more security for themselves, and advantage for the nation: and unless a full satisfaction be given in such points, as shall be judged necessary to those ends, it is

[a] Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, part I. p. 214.

[b] Lord Warrington's Works, p. 634. 8vo. Lond. 1694.

upon the death of our late sovereign lord, king

thought, the army will not be pleased [a]." Lord Broghill, in a letter to Mr. Thurloe, dated Dublin, May 8, 1660, writes as follows: "I confess your last favour, of the 1st instant, did not a little amaze me. So unanimous and great a progress made in one day, by both houses, in so weighty a business, may cause a man to wonder as much as any thing has happened in this age, which hath been not unfruitful in admirable productions. I heartily beg of the Lord, that our steps may be as safe as they are expeditious; and that we may ascertayne those just rights, by an agreement, which we contended for so successfully in the war. I'll assure you many of us pray heartily for the parliament; and we think we never had more reason to do so than now, our whole settlement being now to be concluded on: and what is now done will hardly admit of the least amendment, though we might afterwards discover never so great an oversight [b]."

Nor did the friends of Charles, who had followed his fortunes, and were best acquainted with, and most interested in, the success of his affairs, entertain a doubt, but that terms would be insisted on, and were to be complied with. Among many proofs, I will only give Mr. Kingston's relation of some conversations on this subject.—"I am to let you know, that lord Aubony [Aubigny] was to visit lord Jermyn on Monday, who entertained him in private for two hours. The subject of their discourse was, the state of the times, and of the kings affairs in relation to them. That principally insisted upon was, the disposition in England to

[a] Sidney's Papers, vol. II. p. 685. fol. Lond. 1746. [b] Thurloe, vol. VII. p. 912.

Charles the First, the imperial crown of

call in the king; which, lord Jermyn said, he was very certain would be done, if the ways to it were not obstructed. Lord Aubony answered, that he was perswaded nothing ought, and, he believed, nothing on the kings part would bring any impediment to it. I, but, said lord Jermyn, the men that managed the matters, and have the power, are the presbyterians. Lord Aubony replied, that he took every hand to be proper, which would do the work; and, without examining of what sect or profession they were, he was of opinion, that, without a more sure way was visibly shewn, the king should not stick to take his crown at their hands that would give it him, upon such conditions as the givers should think fit to propose; there being scarce any thing which might be esteemed unreasonable, in a matter to which there lay but one way open. You are in the right, said lord Jermyn, and I am exceedingly glad to find you of that opinion: but I am still afraid the king will suffer himself to be perswaded. But can you, replied lord Aubony (though I know you fear the power lord chancellor hath with him), that hath seen the king here, and are but newly come from Flanders, and, doubtless, has observed his carriage, think that he is not master of his own affairs, and directs them himself? I; but, replied lord Jermyn, when lord chancellor hath him with him, among his papers, and shews him this and that letter of intelligence, and comments upon them; and that the king, who likes not to be over-prest with such knotty and intricate things, would divert himself; he may lead him to a resolution. For what I have known of the king, said lord Aubony, I cannot judge that he is so easily wrought upon: and I do believe he will be of

the realm of England, and of all the king-

the mind to enter into his kingdoms upon any party's invitation, and almost any conditions. You have reason; and that is it, said lord Jermyn, which the cardinal would have him do: but advise you the queen [Henrietta Maria] to be of that mind: she is yet very opposite to sene [sense, perhaps]; but, I hope, she may be reclaimed: and lest she should think we concurred to make this our business, go you in first, and I will follow soon after. But let me tell you, that, for the kings abilities, I know them very well; and they are very great: and he has given me as much satisfaction, in all things, as I could desire; yet I cannot say, that I am contented. As soon as the queen saw lord Aubony, O, said she, my lord, I hear, you say, the king is to go to England, and that you are glad there is such a * * * laid open for him. Do not you know that the presbyterians are those that are to invite him? Lord Aubony answered, that he cared not who they be: that he looked only upon his being there. But the conditions, said the queen, may be such, as they would have pressed upon the king his father. Madam, replied lord Aubony, a king crowned, and in his own dominions, had more to insist upon terms, than an exiled prince that hath not been accepted by them. What would any one have him do other than receive his kingdoms by what means soever they were given him? and if some better way than this occurs not, what fault is to be found with that which cannot be mended? These and other such arguments brought the queen to think, there was reason in what lord Aubony said; so as he left her in a good mood. Now the judgment which lord Aubony makes on lord Jermyns part in the story,

doms, dominions, and rights, belonging to

is, that he would indeed have the king restored, and rather by the presbyterians than any other, not for any adherence of his to their principles of faith, but that, though himself should be denied admittance into England, which, he fears, the presbyterians themselves will be of opinion is fit to be done; yet he would be sure, that, whatsoever should befall lord Jermyn, lord chancellor would be excluded, whom he hath very little affection for. Lord Aubony thinks likewise, that he will not, perhaps, be much displeased at the putting of hard conditions on the king, since he may hope, that, among the rest they will not forget to indent, that the queen, his mother, should live abroad, provided always her majesty receive her dowry; which, it is probable, he will manage as he hath done hitherto, and so care little for seeing England. Lord Aubony is so much taken with this overture for bringing in the king, that he congratulates his majesty by a particular letter, besides the directions I have to entreat you to let him know, how much he is joyed at it. Thus far I give you a copy of a rough draught, read and approved by lord Aubony yesterday [a]."——This letter is dated Paris, Ap. 8, 1660, N. S.—The same was, at first, the opinion of Moncke himself also; as we may guess from the following passage in Clarendon:—"When Sir John Greenville had, at large, informed his majesty of the affairs of England, of the manner of the generals conference with him, and the good affections of Mr. Morrice; and had communicated the instructions and advices he had received; as his majesty was very glad that the general

[a] Thurloe, vol. VII. p. 891.

the same, did, by inherent birthright, and

had thus far discovered himself, and that he had opened a door for correspondence: so he was not without great perplexity upon many particulars which were recommended to be done; some of which he believed impossible and unpracticable, as the leaving every body in the state they were in, and confirming their possession in all the lands which they held in England, Scotland, and Ireland, by purchase or donation, whether of lands belonging to the crown and church, or such who, for adhering to his father and himself, were declared delinquents, and had their lands confiscated and disposed of as their enemies had thought fit. Then the complying with all humours in religion, and the granting a general liberty of conscience, was a violation of all the laws in force, and could not be apprehended to consist with the peace of the kingdom. No man was more disposed to a general act of indemnity and oblivion, than his majesty was; which he knew, in so long and universal a guilt, was absolutely necessary. But he thought it neither consistent with his honour, nor his conscience, that those who had sate as judges, and condemned his father to be murthered, should be comprehended in that act of pardon: yet it was advised, that there might be no exception, or that above four might not be excepted; because, it was alledged, that some of them had facilitated the generals march, by falling from Lambert; and others had barefaced advanced the kings service very much. After great deliberation on all the particulars, and weighing the importance of complying with the generals advice in all things which his conscience and honour would permit, his majesty directed such letters and declarations to be prepared, as should be in a good degree, suit-

lawful and undoubted succession, descend

able to the wishes and counsel of the general; and yet make the transaction of those things which he did not like, the effect of the power of the parliament, rather than of his majesty's approbation. And the confidence he had upon the general election of honest and prudent men, and in some particular persons, who, he heard, were already chosen, disposed him to make a general reference of all things, which he could not reserve to himself, to the wisdom of the parliament, upon presumption they would not exact more from him than he was willing to consent to; since he well knew, that, whatever title they assumed, or he gave them, they must have another kind of parliament to confirm all that was done by them: without which they could not be safe and contented, nor his majesty obliged [a]."—If it be asked, who hindered conditions being made, and terms insisted on, previous to Charles's restoration?—the answer is,—it was Moncke.——This will appear from unexceptionable authorities. "On the ninth of April, 1660, the general dispatched away Mr. Bernard Greenville to his majesty, with his humble letters, acknowledging his duty and allegiance; and returning his most humble thanks to his majesty, for entertaining so good an opinion of him, and reposing so great and absolute a trust in him; and assurance that he would certainly restore his majesty; and that, with the hazard of his life, he would do it without any previous conditions; he being such an adorer of majesty, that he would not endure to see it shackled with any limitations or exceptions whatsoever; so that

[a] Clarendon, vol. VI. p. 737. See also Gumble's Life of Moncke, p. 276. 8vo.

and come to his most excellent majesty,

he should return a free and absolute monarch to his antient kingdoms[a]."——"Such unanimity," says Burnet, "appeared in their proceedings [the convention parliaments], that there was not the least dispute among them, but upon one single point: yet that was a very important one. Hale, afterwards the famous chief justice, moved, that a committee might be appointed, to look into the propositions that had been made, and the concessions that had been offered, by the late king, during the war, particularly at the treaty of Newport; that, from thence, they might digest such propositions as they should think fit to be sent over to the king. This was seconded; but I do not remember by whom. It was foreseen, that such a motion might be set on foot: so Moncke was instructed how to answer it, whensoever it should be proposed. He told the house, that there was yet, above all mens hope, an universal quiet all over the nation; but there were some incendiaries still on the watch, trying where they could first raise the flame. He said, He had such copious informations sent him, of these things, that it was not fit they should be generally known. He could not answer for the peace, either of the nation or of the army, if any delay was put to the sending for the king. What need was there of sending propositions to him? Might they not as well prepare them, and offer them to him when he should come over? He was to bring neither army nor treasure with him, either to fright them or to corrupt them. So he moved, that they would immediately send commissioners to bring over the king: and said, that he must lay the blame of all

[a] Gumble, p 279.

Charles the Second, as being lineally, justly,

the blood or mischief, that might follow, on the heads of those who should still insist on any motion that might delay the present settlement of the nation. This was eccho'd with such a shout over the house, that the motion was no more insisted on. This was indeed the great service that Moncke did. It was chiefly owing to the post he was in, and the credit he had gained. For as to the Restoration itself, the tide run so strong, that he only went into it dexterously enough to get much fame, and great rewards, for that which will still have a great appearance in history[a]." Lord Landsdowne affirms, "his father, Mr. Bernard Granville, was the person intrusted by the general with his last dispatches to the king, to invite him home, and to acquaint him that every thing was ready for his reception. When he gave him these final instructions, he acquainted him, that there were other messengers going over at the same time, in the same ship, from Sir Anthony Ashley Cowper, and others, directed to the chancellor: that he should take care not to be suspected of being any thing more than a common passenger, nor charged with any business: and, above all, to use such diligence as to get first to the king, that his majesty might not be surprized, or perplexed, by any uneasy importunities, or disagreeable demands; but be prepared in what manner to receive, and content them with general answers. My father, accordingly, arrived the first by two or three hours. The king was at supper. Upon sending in his name, his majesty immediately arose from table, and came to him in another room. The king had no sooner read the

[a] Burnet, vol. I. p. 88.

and lawfully, next heir of the blood royal

generals letter, but he embraced the bearer, and told him, never was man more welcome to him: he could now say he was a king, and not a doge. It is certain, the generals extreme but necessary caution, and taciturnity, gave latitude to others to assume more merit than belonged to them. The king himself, who best knew, has decided this question, by declaring, in all his grants and patents of honour to the duke of Albermarle, and the earl of Bathe, that he owed his restoration, as it was free and independent, to their sole management[a]."—Thus was an exiled prince, by the dissimulation, treachery, and falsehood of Moncke, admitted to the government of three flourishing and renowned kingdoms, without conditions, contrary to the sense and expectations of the most intelligent persons of all parties! For who could have imagined, that a people, who had so long and successfully struggled for their liberties, would, in one hour, without striking a blow, submit to the vanquished, and tamely yield to the yoke of those whom they knew to be their determined foes? Who could have thought, that an English parliament, a name which had lately, very lately, obtained so much renown, should, by one single vote, deliver up themselves, and all that was dear to them, into the hands of one from whom they had reason to expect not over-kind treatment? But patriotism no longer actuated the breasts of the English senators: every thing was unminded, but personal safety, personal honors, or rewards; which were judged best obtained, by thus making early court to the king, in a matter most acceptable to him.—Mr. Hume says,

[a] Landsdowne's Works, vol. II. p. 161.

of this realm; and that, by the goodness and providence of Almighty God, he is, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland,

"After the concessions made by the late king, the constitution seemed to be sufficiently secured; and the additional conditions insisted on, as they had been framed during the greatest ardor of the contest, amounted rather to an annihilation than a limitation of monarchy[a]."—What is meant by this, is hard to say. Would the insisting on the power of the militia; the abolishing the court of wards; the confirmation of public sales; the asserting the necessity and justice of the late war; and the restraining the prerogative, that very prerogative which had brought so many mischiefs on the nation, within the bounds of law, and settling the rights of the people on an immoveable foundation; would, I say, the doing of these things have been an annihilation of monarchy? Many of them ought to have been done: and had they been done, the revolution, perhaps, had never taken place. For Charles, and his brother, would thereby have been taught their duty; and restrained from those excesses, which shewed men the necessity of a more limited government than had before been established.

"To the kings coming in without conditions," says Burnet, "may be well imputed all the errors of his reign. And when the earl of Southampton came to see what he was like to prove, he said once, in great wrath, to Chancellor Hide, it was to him they owed all they either felt or feared: for if he had not possessed him, in all his letters, with such an opinion of the

[a] Hist. of Great Britain, vol. II. p. 113. Lond. 1757.

most potent, mighty, and undoubted king[a]." Such a sudden change was there in the language of the people of England!

king, they would have taken care to have put it out of his power, either to do himself or them any mischief; which was like to be the effect of their trusting him so entirely. Hide answered, that he thought the king had so true a judgment, and so much good-nature, that, when the age of pleasure should be over, and the idleness of his exile, which made him seek new diversions for want of other employment, was turned to an obligation to mind affairs, then he would have shaken off those entanglements[b]." A very poor excuse for so much mischief! "Conditions and limitations would have made both prince and people safe and easy: the want of them made the greater part of the reign of king Charles the Second bear that gloomy prospect, which the noble writer [Lansdowne] has so elegantly set forth. An unlimited power of doing good, and an incapacity of doing wrong, would bring sovereigns nearer the image of that Being, from whom all power is derived, and whose vicegerents they are frequently stiled. Restraints from evil will never be felt as chains by good princes; and surely bad ones cannot have too many[c]."——The following paper shall put an end to this long note. It was sent to Thurloe, from Leghorn, by Mr. Longland, the English agent, Ap. 23, 1660, N. S.——"I must not omit to let you know, what discourse happened, yesterday, with a couple of Italians, concerning the affairs of England, who were very knowing men, as that nation generally

[a] Journal. [b] Burnet, vol. I. p. 89. [c] Remarks on Lansdowne's Letter, p. 32. 4to. Lond. 1732.

It probably, however, was the language of the heart: for the joy, expressed on this occasion, was inconceivable. Every thing

is. The opinion of the one was, that the approaching parliament would assuredly call in the king, seeing the secluded members had prepared a way for it, by turning out the commonwealthsmen from commanding the militia, and being sheriffs of the counties, and putting into their places the kings friends and cavaliers; instancing the city of London, who, of itself, had an army able to bring in the king; and sir George Boothe, who hath now the parliaments authority for that, for which he was so lately apprehended. The other answered, although this be true, yet it cannot be imagined, that so grave and wise a body, as the parliament, will soon so forget the late great expence of blood and treasure, as again to set up the said government that caused it: which would be an action of such levity, not to say folly, that so wise a body could not possibly be guilty of. When the Athenians, Tuscans, and Romans, cast off kingly government, they never willingly re-assumed it; and yet it never cost all those nations together half the blood it has in England. He further said to the other Italian, You and I have wives and children. How soon it may please God to send sickness and death, we know not. Would it be discretion in us, to leave our children and estates in the tuition of one of the princes (the great dukes brothers); or in the hands of a merchant of our own rank and quality, who may be accountable for his administration? *Ovum non ovo similius*: and that great and wise body, the parliament of England, not only deliver up their own, but the estates, wives, chil-

was done which was thought acceptable to the king[39], who was viewed as the saviour and deliverer of his people.—The character

dren, religion, and liberties too, of three great nations, into the hands and custody of one man incontroulable; and not rather put these precious jewels into the hands and keeping of twenty or thirty of their own members, of whom they may freely demand an account at all times. This certainly is consistent with right reason, and the true interest of that nation. To say, that they will bind the king to such conditions as no opportunity shall be left him; all such must needs vanish with time, and peoples liberties must again become inthrall'd, whereof the world is full of witnesses and examples[a]."——This, it is true, might have been the case: if it had, the parliament would still have had the satisfaction of reflecting on their own honest intentions; and posterity would have applauded them.

[39] The joy was inconceivable. Every thing was done which was thought acceptable to the king, who was viewed as the saviour and deliverer of his people.] In pursuance of the act of the commonwealth-parliament, writs were issued out, and a parliament returned; who met at Westminster, Ap. 25, 1660, O. S. And the lords, who had been so long ousted from their power, re-entered their house, and were acknowledged by the commons as part of the legislature. To these houses, to the general, to the city of London, did the king apply, in a very insinuating manner, by letters; and sent also a declaration, in which, after claiming his right, he promised all those things which have been

[a] Thuloe, vol. VII. p. 897.

of the late king began now to be had in

before mentioned[a]. Clauses, however, were inserted, which left him much at liberty, in the future, to confirm, retract, alter, or amend, as he should see fit[b]. Nothing of this, however, was animadverted upon at that time. All was joy, and gladness; as if the golden age was about to return, and the nations advanced to a glory and happiness unknown in past times. Sir Harbottle Grimstone, speaker, by command, gave thanks to Moncke, who, in the last parliament, had been voted twenty thousand pounds. Ingoldby, who had defeated Lambert, was applauded in like manner: and Sir John Greenville, who brought the letters from the king, had five hundred pounds bestowed on him. Nothing can better convey the idea of the then sense of the people, than Grimston's speech to Greenville on this occasion.——"I need not tell you," said he, "with what grateful and thankful hearts the commons, now assembled in parliament, have received his majesty's gracious letter: *res ipsa loquitur.* You, yourself, have been *ocularis & auricularis testis de rei veritate.* Our bells, and our bonfires, have already begun the proclamation of his majesty's goodness and of our joys. We have told the people, that our king, the glory of England, is coming home again; and they have resounded it back again, in our ears, that they are ready, and their hearts are open, to receive him. Both parliament, and people, have cried aloud to the King of kings, in their prayers, 'Long live king Charles the Second!' Sir, I am likewise to tell you, that the house doth not think it fit, that you

[a] See note 35.

[b] See the last quotation from Clarendon, in the preceding note.

much estimation; and his memory adored:

should return back to our royal sovereign without some testimony of their respects to yourself. They have ordered, and appointed, that five hundred pounds shall be delivered to you, to buy a jewel, as a badge of that honor which is due to a person whom the king hath honoured to be the messenger of so gracious a message. And I am commanded, in the name of the house, to return you their very hearty thanks[a]." Considerable sums of money were now also voted for the use of the king, duke of York, and duke of Gloucester; and remitted to them in Holland. Furniture, equipages, and every thing necessary were provided. Prayers in churches ordered for himself, and the royal progeny. The arms of the commonwealth were taken down, and his majesty's set up: and he himself most humbly entreated to make a speedy return to his parliament, and to the exercise of his kingly office[b]. So that the satyrist adhered pretty much to truth, in the lines following;

"Of a tall stature, and of sable hue,
Much like the son of Kish, that lofty Jew;
Twelve years compleat he suffer'd in exile,
And kept his father's asses all the while.
At length, by wonderful impulse of fate,
The people call'd him home to help the state.
And, what is more, they send him money too;
And cloath him all, from head to foot, anew.
Nor did he such small favours then disdain,
Who in his thirtieth year began his reign."

MARVEL.

When the king first went to the lords, on the twenty-ninth of May, he was complimented by lord Manchester, their speaker, in terms the most extravagant.

[a] Journal, May 3, 1660. [b] Journal, May 10, 1660.

so that all those concerned in his impri-

——"That this day," says he, "may prove happy to your majesty, is the hope, the expectation, and the earnest desire, of my lords the peers; whose commands are upon me, to make this humble tender, to your majesty, of their loyal joy for your majesty's return to your native kingdom; and for this happy restoration of your majesty to your crown and dignity, after so long and so severe a suppression of your just right and title. I shall not reflect upon your majesty's sufferings, which have been your people's miseries: yet I cannot omit to say, that, as the nation in general, so the peers, with a more personal and particular sense, have felt the stroke that cut the Gordian knot which fastened your majesty to your kingdom, and your kingdom to your majesty. For since those strange and various fluctuations, and discomposures in government; since those horrid and unparalleled violations of all order and justice; strangers have ruled over us, even with a rod of iron. But now, with satisfaction of heart, we own and see your majesty, our native king, a son of the wise, a son of the antient kings, whose hands hold forth a golden scepter. Great king! give me leave to speak the confidence, as well as the desires, of the peers of England. Be you the powerful defender of the true protestant faith; the just asserter and maintainer of the laws and liberties of your subjects: so shall judgment run down like a river, and justice like a mighty stream: and God, the God of your mercy, who hath so miraculously preserved you, will establish your throne in righteousness and in peace. Dread sovereign! I offer no flattering titles; but speak the words of truth. You are the desire of three kingdoms: the strength and stay of the tribes of the people; for the

sonment, trial, or execution, were held in

moderating of extremities, the reconciling of differences, the satisfying of all interests, and for the restoring of the collapsed honour of these nations. Their eyes are towards your majesty: their tongues, with loud acclamations of joy, speak the thoughts and loyal intentions of their hearts: their hands are lift up to heaven, with prayers and praises. And what oval triumph can equal this your pomp and glory? Long may your majesty live and reign: a support to your friends; a terrour to your enemies; an honour to your nation; and an example to kings, of piety, justice, prudence, and power: that this prophetick expression may be verified in your majesty, king Charles the Second shall be greater than ever was the greatest of that name[a]." The like compliments and congratulations did his majesty receive from the house of commons; the lord mayor and aldermen, and ministers, of the city of London; from the army; the navy; in a word, almost from the whole people of England. So that he had great reason to say, "he doubted it had been his own fault he had been absent so long; for he saw nobody that did not protest, he had ever wished for his return[b]."——To perpetuate the memory of this event, the twenty-ninth day of May was, soon after, by act of parliament, appointed yearly to be kept as a day of thanksgiving to Almighty God.

And, truly, great reason was there for it, if it produced the effects the admirers of this monarch have described ——Lord Lansdowne speaks of it in the following terms: "I behold a king, with a guilty nation prostrate at his feet, raising his enemies from

[a] Kennet's Register, p. 164. [b] Clarendon, vol. VI. p. 772.

high abhorrence; and many were con-

the ground, taking them by the hand as if they had never offended: sour, hypocritical zeal and grimace, turn'd, as by inchantment, all at once, into good-humour and open-hearted chearfulness; majesty and splendor in the court, decency and discipline in the church, dignity and condescension in the nobility, plenty and hospitality in the country, opulence in the city, good-nature and good manners amongst all ranks and conditions of men. Trade flourishing, navigation extended, manufactures improved, arts and sciences encouraged, wit abounding, the Muses restored, the gown respected; and, above all, liberty secured to perpetuity, by that great bulwark, the Habeas Corpus act. This is the scene which presents itself to me; and I look back with pleasure upon it[a]."——Bishop Sherlock also assures us, "that after more than twelve years of continual night, the day began to break, and the sound of liberty was heard throughout the nation: in a word, the king, who was expelled; the nobles, and the gentry, who were driven into banishment, or lived at home sequestred or imprisoned; were restored to their antient rights; and England became England again. Now, what was the consequence? Why, the cruelties, the oppressions, and devastations of many years, were all buried in silence and oblivion. Private resentments, and private injuries, were given up to the publick good: the rich sequestrator, and the harrass'd gentleman, lived like neighbours and friends: and the prophecy seemed fulfilled, that, 'The lion and the lambs should play together[b]."—These are beautiful pictures: but, as the one was drawn by a poet; the

[a] Lansdowne's Works, vol. II. p. 269. [b] Vindication of the Corporation and Test Acts, p. 34. 8vo. Lond. 1718.

demned, and executed, for being accessary

other by a divine, not very remarkable for his regard to truth; exactness, or even likeness, may, possibly, be wanting. The sequel, however, will discover.

The poets now had a fresh opportunity of displaying their talents, and paying their court to the dispenser of good things. Mr. Waller, the kinsman and panegyrist of Cromwell; and Dryden, his fellow-labourer; sung new songs, and flattered the monarch more than the protector. The university of Oxford expressed their joy also in a book of verses, entitled, Britannia Rediviva[a]. The introduction, by Conant, vice-chancellor, is remarkably grave; and shews the hopes that were entertained of a pious, happy reign.

"Quæ tua sunt cœlum tibi reddidit, ipse vicissim
Jam cœlo reddas (Carole magne) sua:
Sceptra Deo trade, ilium regnare jubeto
(Inclyte rex) quo tu sceptra jubente tenes.
O ter felices, te sic regnante, Britannos,
Christus ut emineat, teque regente regat.
Ipsa sibi tristes gratabitur Anglia clades,
Pensari tanto quæ potuêre bono."

Mr. Locke, Mr. afterwards Dr. Dan. Whitby, Hooper, South, Rochester, and many others whose names have hardly reached down to the present age, contributed to this collection. I will insert a few of South's lines for the gratification of the curious.

"Jure & amore tui modo spes, nunc gloria regni,
Cui regnando refers numen, & esse probas.
Laudibus & titulis major, majorque superbis
Principibus, solo denique patre minor.
Maxime rex, sed adhuc virtute major: en accipe honores,
Quos tu regales accipiendo facis.

[a] Oxoniæ, 1660. 4to.

to his death[40]. These were now styled

Regna patent, & corda patent; sed latius ista;
Omnia tu, præter gaudia nostra, regis.
* * * * * * * * *
Quæ rerum facies! Viduam dum Carolus urbem
Intrat, splendoris pars quota pompa fuit!
O quàm plena dies lacrymis sine luctibus! Illum
Sole vidente quidem, non faciente diem.
Quis sine cæde priùs tot strictos viderat enses?
Quisve sine effuso sanguine victor erat?" &c. &c.

[40] Many were condemned and executed for being accessary to the death of Charles I.] It was natural enough to expect a severe revenge would be taken, by Charles the Second, on those who brought his father to the block, if ever it lay in his power. As a son, he must be supposed deeply to resent it: as a prince, to loath and detest it. It was, however, his business to keep his sentiments on this head, as much as might be, to himself; lest the people, in general, should be alarmed at the thoughts of restoring a prince, prone to take vengeance on the foes of his family. All, therefore, he thought proper to say, in his letter to the commons, from Breda, on this subject, was, "if there be a crying sin, for which the nation may be involved in the infamy that attends it, we cannot doubt, but that you will be as sollicitous to redeem and vindicate the nation from that guilt and infamy, as we can be." The house of commons took the hint: and, in order to gratify his majesty, and avenge themselves for being divested of their power in 1648, and obliged to submit to men whom they heartily hated on that account: the house of commons, I say, made up of the secluded members, who were agents and directors of the civil war, and men, for the most part, of like principles, took now an opportunity of avenging themselves,

regicides and traitors; though the friends

under the specious pretence of bringing regicides and parricides to justice, and vindicating the honour of the nation. And the house of lords, which for twelve years had been wholly suppressed, as they thought themselves more wronged by the commonwealth party, readily fell in with the commons, and even surpassed them in their desires of vengeance. In this disposition, votes and resolutions passed: by which, persons concerned in the transactions of the High Court of Justice, and the execution of the late king, were exempted from the pardon to be granted by a bill then framing in the house of commons; and left to the laws, as interpreted by his majesty's judges.—The fate of these men it was no way difficult to foresee. A commission was issued out, directed to restored cavaliers, to secluded members, to the officers of the crown, and the judges of Westminster-hall: sworn enemies all to the men who were to be tried by them: and who, without the help of the laws, by which, without doubt, they must be found guilty, if rigorously and literally interpreted, would have taken care that they should not pass unpunished.—It was in vain that the prisoners alleged, on their trials, that they had acted under the supreme power of the nation then in being, to which all orders and degrees of men had yielded obedience; that they themselves had honest intentions, and thought the sentence passed on his late majesty just and equitable; or, that those who now were their judges had, in some measure, been misled or mistaken as well as themselves[a]; nothing of this was attended to. The court declared, that the parlia-

[a] See the Trials of Harrison, Scot, and Scrope.

of liberty spoke of them in more moderate

ment, by whose authority they had acted, had no right to the name: that the power they had assumed, was usurped: that, supposing it had not, they had no right to try and execute the king; and, consequently, all concerned in it were traitors, guilty of compassing and imagining the king's death, and liable to the consequences of high treason.

Such was the opinion of the judges: and, in consequence hereof, thirteen persons, at different times, were executed; who behaved, for the most part, with that intrepidity which enthusiasm, or conscious innocency, inspires.—Not content with this, many very eminent men were shut up in prisons; deprived of their fortunes, or incapacitated for public employs: and even persons who were dead were attainted, and their bodies treated with infamy: and such as neither the king, nor his great council now assembled, had been able to contend with, in the cabinet or in the field, were exposed in a manner shocking to humanity. The sufferings of these men, and the great change of affairs at this time, is very ingeniously conjectured to be alluded to, by Milton, in the following lines:

"God of our fathers, what is man!
That thou towards him, with hand so various,
Or might I say contrarious,
Temper'st thy providence through his short course,
Not ev'nly, as thou rul'st
Th' angelic orders and inferiour creatures mute,
Irrational and brute.
Nor do I name of men the common rout,
That, wand'ring loose about,
Grow up and perish, as the summer flie,
Heads without name no more remember'd,
But such as thou hast solemnly elected,
With gifts and graces eminently adorn'd

terms. Money was also readily provided,

> To some great work, thy glory,
> And people's safety, which in part they effect:
> Yet towards these, thus dignify'd, thou oft,
> Amidst their highth of noon,
> Changest thy count'nance and thy hand, with no regard
> Of highest favours past
> From thee on them, or them to thee of service;
> Not only dost degrade them, or remit
> To life obscur'd, which were a fair dismission,
> But throw'st them lower than thou didst exalt them high,
> Unseemly falls in human eye,
> Too grievous for the trespass or omission;
> Oft leav'st them to the hostile sword
> Of heathen and prophane, their carcases
> To dogs and fowls a prey, or else captiv'd;
> Or to th' unjust tribunals, under change of times,
> And condemnation of th' ingrateful multitude[a]."
>
> SAMSON AGONISTES.

To return.——In the king this might have been excusable. But that a house of commons, the leading men of which had generously withstood Charles I. in arms, in defence of their liberties;—for these men to treat thus their coadjutors in their noble work, because they were desirous of perfecting, and actually completed it, was highly unjustifiable. If indeed no power, no person, no community or body of men, not the people, either collectively or representatively, have any coercive power over the person of the king, by the fundamental laws, as was asserted by Sir Orlando Bridgman on this occasion[b]; then the king's judges had no reason to complain. But if this doctrine was true, then were the leaders in the house of commons,

[a] See the notes of Dr. Warburton, and Newton, on the place. [b] Exact and impartial Account of the Tryal of the Regicides, p. 230. 4to. Lond. 1660.

by the house of commons, for the paying

who had waged war with the late king, and held him too in safe custody till he would comply with their terms, traitors also; and liable to a like judgment. But as they denied this, and took care to vindicate their own arming against the king[a], and permitted not their hostile proceedings, in any act of parliament, to be called rebellion; it plainly appears, that they themselves must have held a very different doctrine, and ought not to have set an example so fatal to posterity. "If a king deserves," says an excellent writer, "to be opposed by force of arms, he deserves death: if he reduces his subjects to that extremity, the blood spilt in the quarrel lies on him:——the executing him afterwards, is a meer formality[b]." This is unanswerable. And whether Charles I. by exercising tyranny, was not the occasion of his own and his people's calamities, is freely left to the judgment of the intelligent reader.——Besides, with submission, that could never be deemed an act of murder, which was intended as an act of safety and glory to the community. The king was in captivity, in consequence of an unsuccessful war with his people.———And why—in the name of common sense—must he be exempted from a fate he would certainly have inflicted on his opponents, had he been in their case and they in his?———These men, indeed, had no power, according to the ancient settled laws of the kingdom, to deal thus with the king.——But what had laws to do in war? The moment hostilities commenced, law, as far as related to the several branches of the legislature, ceased:——the

[a] See a quotation from the Journal, in the Historical and Critical Account of Charles I. p. 364. 8vo. Lond. 1758. [b] Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, vol. II. p. 69.

and disbanding the army, and laying up

sword was to decide the quarrel; and whatever the victor had a right to demand of the vanquished, the vanquished ought to submit to. At the lowest, this is self-preservation: which is justly procured, though it be by the death of the adversary. Had these men offended against the statute of treasons in times of settled government, it would have been right to have indicted them thereon; and they might have been justly told, that no man can justify treason. But the law, properly, was out of the case: though the lawyers, as usual, made much use of it, and very virulently exclaimed against parricides, regicides, and traitors. In short, as there had been great excesses among all parties, and each thought they had reason to complain of another; and as the nation seemed, at this time, to be filled with a common joy; a total act of indemnity ought to have been enacted, for all former proceedings. Of this sentiment, it seems, were divers members of both houses. "The earl of Northumberland was heard to say, That though he had no part in the death of the king, he was against questioning those who had been concerned in that affair; that the example might be more useful to posterity, and profitable to future kings, by deterring them from future exorbitances. And the lord Fairfax, on that subject, plainly said, that if any person must be excepted, he knew no man that deserved it more than himself; who, being general of the army at that time, and having power sufficient to prevent the proceedings against the king, had not thought fit to make use of it to that end[a]."——But some sacrifices were to be

[a] Ludlow, vol. III. p. 10.

the navy: and his majesty was compli-

made, to gratify revenge, and make court to the new monarch.

I will conclude this note with the words of lord Molesworth. "It is certainly," says he, "as much treason and rebellion against this constitution, and the known laws, in a prince to endeavour to break through them, as it is in people to rise against him, whilst he keeps within their bounds, and does his duty. Our constitution is a government of laws, not of persons. Allegiance and protection are obligations that cannot subsist separately; when one fails, the other falls of course. The true etymology of the word loyalty (which has been so strangely wrested in the late reigns), is an entire obedience to the prince, in all his commands according to law; that is, to the laws themselves, to which we owe both an active and passive obedience. By the old and true maxim, That the king can do no wrong, nobody is so foolish as to conclude, that he has not strength to murder, to offer violence to women, or power enough to dispossess a man wrongfully of his estate; or, that whatever he does (how wicked soever) is just: but the meaning is, he has no lawful power to do such things; and our constitution considers no power as irresistible, but what is lawful[a]."

Since the writing of the above, I find, by the journals, that the house of commons not only justified those who first took up arms against Charles I. but also paid the arrears due to commanders of forces against that monarch.——July 17, 1660, it was ordered, "that the sum of two thousand one hundred fifty-five pounds

[a] Preface to Hottoman's Franco-Gallia, p. 10. 8vo. Lond. 1721.

mented with a revenue[41] greater than any

fifteen shillings ten pence, the residue and remainder of three thousand one hundred fifty-five pounds fifteen shillings ten pence, charged by ordinance of the lords and commons in parliament, on receipt of Goldsmiths-hall, and payable, in the year 1646, to the lord Willoughby of Parham, as due to him on his account, be, and hereby is, charged on the receipt of excise, and to be paid by the commissioners of excise, in course, to the said lord Willoughby of Parham."——Massey, who had defended Gloucester against the king; and Titus, another parliamentarian; had 3000*l.* each ordered them also on the excise[a]. Surely the gentlemen who ordered these sums, had no notion of the illegality of the resistance made to the late king.

[41] His majesty was complimented with a revenue greater than his predecessors.] In the Journal of Sept. 4th, 1660, it is said, "that Sir Heneage Finch reports from the committee, to whom it was referred to consider of a revenue to be settled on the kings majesty, and the state of the late kings revenue; an estimate of the present revenue of his majesty, and several resolves of the said committee: that is to say, That, according to the best information the committee could receive from the officers heretofore employed about the revenue, the total of the revenue, which came unto his late majesty, amounted, from the year 1637 to the year 1641 inclusive, *communibus annis*, unto eight hundred ninety-five thousand eight hundred and nineteen pounds five shillings; whereof two hundred and ten thousand four hundred ninety-three pounds seventeen shillings and four pence did arise by payments partly not war-

[a] See Journals, 17 July, 1660, and 28 Dec. following.

of his predecessors. The crown lands also,

ranted by law, partly expired: and that the expences of his said late majesty's government did amount, *communibus annis*, to about two hundred thousand pounds a year above the receipt; in which computation the incomes, arising by ship-money, are not comprehended: and that, by estimate, the present revenue of his now majesty may be computed at eight hundred and nineteen thousand three hundred ninety-eight pounds, or thereabouts. That is to say: By

| | |
|---|---|
| The Customs, - - - - | £400,000 |
| The Composition for the Court of Wards, - - - - - | 100,000 |
| The Revenue of Farms and Rents, | 263,598 |
| The Office of Postage, - - | 21,500 |
| The Proceeds of Deane forest, - | 4,000 |
| The Imposition on Sea Coals exported, | 8,000 |
| Wine Licences, and other additions, | 22,300 |
| | £819,398 |

"Of which sum forty-five thousand six hundred ninety-eight pounds eighteen shillings and seven pence, part of the said two hundred sixty-three thousand five hundred ninety-eight pounds, for farms and rents, is casual, and, for the most part, lost; viz. for the mint, alum, transportation of gold, new-years gifts, and installed debts. He also reports some resolves of the said committee; viz. That a bill be tendered to the house, for establishing, and regulation, of the office of postmaster: That the like bill be tendered to the house, for wine licences: That a bill be prepared, for settling the lands of the crown, so that no grant of the

though sold under the commonwealth for

inheritance shall be good in law; nor any lease, more than for three lives, or thirty-one years, where a third part of the true yearly value is reserved for a rent; as it shall appear upon the return of a survey; which that act is to take order for, that it may be speedily had and taken: That the house be desired to move the kings majesty, that there be a forbearance to make leases of lands, or other grants of the revenue, till the said act be passed: And that the said committee think fit, that the revenue, for the constant yearly support of his majesty, be a revenue of twelve hundred thousand pounds a year.

"The question being propounded, That the present majesty's shall be made up twelve hundred thousand pounds a year; and the question being put, That this question be now put; it passed in the affirmative: And the main question being put; it was resolved, That the present king's majesty's revenue shall be made up twelve hundred thousand pounds a year. Resolved, That this house doth agree with the committee, that a bill be brought in, for establishing, and regulation, of the office of wine licences: and that another bill be brought in, for settling the lands of the crown, so as that no grant of the inheritance shall be good in law; nor any lease for more than three lives, or one and thirty years, where a third part of the true yearly value is reserved for a rent; as it shall appear upon a survey, which that act is to take order for, to be speedily had and taken: and that Mr. Sollicitor General, and Mr. Serjeant Glyn, do prepare and bring in bills accordingly. Resolved, That this house do agree with the committee, that the king's majesty be humbly moved, from this house, to forbear to make

valuable considerations, were now, with any leases of lands, or other grants of the revenue of the crown, till the said last-mentioned act be passed." ———The revenue was settled: but the bill for settling the lands of the crown, in the manner intended, was never perfected; and his majesty, and his after-parliament, paid so little regard to the sense of these men, who had done so much for him, that, in the statute book, we find, "An Act for advancing the sale of fee-farm rents, and other rents[a]." So careless was he of the public!———I have the more willingly transcribed the above from the Journals, as it will be a curiosity to many of my readers, and furnish me with matter for an observation or two.

1. We see here the whole ordinary revenue of the state was in the power of the crown, and called the revenue of the crown; without any distinction of what was to be allotted for the civil list, and what for the current service. In consequence of this, the crown might take what it pleased for itself, and apply as little as it pleased to the public.———This was, naturally, a source of great disorders.

2. Though this revenue was greater than any prince before enjoyed; yet was it far enough from enabling him to carry on the purposes of government, as he managed matters. He had many times large sums from the people, to carry on wars made for purposes far from national. And even in times of profound peace, a variety of ways and means were devised, to fill his pockets at the expence of the public. This appears from the statute books.

Sir William Petty assures us, "that, in this reign, the ordinary charge of the government, in times of deep

[a] Stat. 22 Car. II. c. 6.

the lands of the church, taken from the

and serene peace, was not six hundred pounds *per annum*[a]." What we now call the civil list, must then have been very enormous. One should be apt to think, that his majesty had no occasion to become a pensioner or a bankrupt.———Mr. Hume observes, "that though the parliament voted, in general, that 1,200,000 pounds a year should be settled upon the king; they assigned not any funds which would yield two-thirds of that sum[b]. But he is mistaken. The sum of 2,680,000*l.* was granted, and raised, for the public services and civil list, the first seven months after the Restoration; whereof was disbursed, for public services, 1,560,000*l.* and consequently, the sum obtained for the civil list must have been, in that time, 1,120,000*l.* This is the very lowest computation. For the sufficiency of the funds, the curious reader will do well to consult my authority[c]. I will close this note, by observing, that, though it is said in Burnet, and repeated by others, "that many members of the house of commons assured the king, that, upon his Restoration, they intended both to have raised his authority, and to have encreased his revenue; but that the earl of Clarendon had discouraged it, and that all his creatures had possessed the house with such jealousies of the king, that it was not thought fit to trust him too much, nor too far[d]." I say, though this has been often said, it is highly probable, there is no foundation for it; seeing Clarendon himself, who seldom fails trumpeting his own praises, and is never so well pleased as when speaking of himself, has not mentioned a word of this real service to his country,

[a] Political Arithmetick, p. 103. [b] Hume, vol. II. p. 139. [c] Letter from a Bystander, p. 66. 8vo. Lond. 1742. [d] Burnet, vol. I. p. 251.

purchasers, without making them the least satisfaction[42]. A proceeding highly unjust,

had it been a fact, in the long and laboured vindication of himself, under the title of, "A Continuation of his Life."

[42] The crown and church lands were taken from the purchasers, without making them any satisfaction.] In the year 1646, an ordinance passed both houses for the sale of bishops' lands; as another had, by the like authority, for seizing the revenues of the king, queen, and prince, in 1643. Some of the bishops' lands were sold in 1647; though the greater part remained in the hands of trustees appointed by parliament. But no sooner was the commonwealth erected, than the lands of the crown, and the church, were ordered to be sold, in order to enable the government to defend itself, and ease the people. These sales were also deemed a good security against the return of the exiled family; as the value was great, and the purchasers many: who, it was supposed, would unite, as one man, against all such as should attempt to bring about a revolution in its favour. ——"The parliament having an army ready to send to Ireland," says Ludlow; "a formidable fleet to put to sea; another army to keep at home, for their own defence; and a considerable force to guard the north against the Scots, who had declared themselves enemies, and waited only an opportunity of shewing it with advantage; thought themselves obliged to expose to sale such lands as had been formerly possessed by deans and chapters, that they might be enabled, thereby, to defray some part of that great charge that lay upon the nation. To this end, they authorized trustees to sell the said lands; provided they could do it

and injurious; equally prejudicial to private property, and the public faith.——In

at ten years purchase at the least: but such was the good opinion that the people had conceived of the parliament, that most of those lands were sold at the clear income of fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen years; one half of the sums contracted for being paid down for in ready money. Besides which, the woods were valued distinctly; and to be paid for according to the valuation. All impropriations, belonging to the said deans and chapters, as well as those of the bishops, either in possession or reversion, were reserved from sale to enlarge the maintenance of poor ministers. Yet this was not sufficient to restrain that generation of men from inveighing against the parliament, and conspiring with their enemies, both at home and abroad, to weaken their hands, and, if possible, to render them unable to carry on the public service. The fee-farm rents, formerly belonging to the crown, were also sold: and yet, such was the necessity of affairs, that, notwithstanding all this, the parliament found themselves obliged to lay a tax of an hundred and twenty thousand pounds a month upon the nation; which burden they bore, for the most part, without regret; being convinced, that it was wholly applied to the use of the public, and, especially, because those who imposed it paid an equal proportion with the rest. The crown lands were assigned to pay the arrears of those soldiers who were in arms in the year 1647; which was done by the influence of the officers of the army, that were in the present service: whereby they made provision for themselves, and neglected those that appeared for the parliament at the

return for such mighty favours, his majesty

first, and had endured the heat and burden of the day[a]."——I have given this passage at length; as it contains some things remarkable, besides what is relative to the present subject.——Mr. Ludlow, soon after, says, "The parliament was careful to send money, recruits, and all manner of supplies necessary, to Ireland; which they were the better enabled to do, by those great sums of money daily brought in by the purchasers of the lands of deans and chapters, which they thought fit, for the reasons before-mentioned, to expose to sale: which, as it was an advantage to the nation in general, by easing them of some part of their contributions, so was it no detriment to any of those purchasers who were heartily engaged in the public service: since, if the tide should turn, and our enemies become prevalent, such persons were likely to have no better security for the enjoyment of their own paternal estates. Upon this consideration, I contracted with the trustees commissioned by the parliament for the mannors of East Knoel and Upton, in the county of Wilts, wherein I employed that portion which I had received with my wife; and a greater sum, arising from the sale of a part of my patrimonial estate[b]."——We may well suppose, that many other equally zealous republicans, induced by like motives, became purchasers of these lands from the commissioners, as they in fact did. Not but some of different parties were ready enough to contract for them, and take possession of them; as they were deemed the best, according to their value, in the kingdom. The names of lord Fairfax, and Richard Cromwell, are to be found in

[a] Ludlow, vol. I. p. 299. [b] Id. p. 304.

behaved with much seeming affection to-

the list of those who bought bishops' lands[a]; as well as Arthur Hasilrig's, Ludlow's, and many others; who, relying on the public faith, parted with their money to advance their own and their country's welfare.——— Add to this, that great numbers of the officers and soldiers were paid the arrears due to them, by an assignment of lands which had been forfeited to the commonwealth by such who had opposed their authority, or escheated to them on the extinction of monarchy and episcopacy. This, of course, produced assignments, settlements, and entails; wherein families were interested, and their posterity concerned. The government thought this a good security against kingship: and men of the best sense imagined, that, whatever happened, no one would venture to snatch them out of the hands of the present possessors, on account of their numbers, qualities, and connexions. It is said, there were above four hundred thousand families engaged to the parliament, by way of purchase, in the nation[b]. They were, however, mistaken. I have before observed, that the king, in his declaration from Breda, had said, "Because, in the continued distractions of so many years, and so many and great revolutions, many grants and purchases of estates have been made to and by many officers, soldiers, and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to actions at law, upon several titles; we are willing, that all such differences, and all things relating to such grants, sales, and purchases, shall be determined in parliament; which can best provide for the just

[a] See the names of the purchasers, in the account of the sales in Willis's Survey of the several Cathedrals. [b] Lord Sommers's Tracts, vol. IV. p. 485.

wards his people; and great regard for

satisfaction of all men who are concerned." This seemed to satisfy. But how reasonable soever this might appear, it is certain, the matter was referred to a very partial tribunal. For the parliament, though extremely moderate when compared with the succeeding one, was averse to the commonwealth party, and no less desirous of their destruction than his majesty and his followers. They had divested them of their power; punished their leaders; and, to make a final end, they stripped them of their possessions, and thereby disabled them from ever making head against them for the future.———But this was a work of art, and time. For the lord chancellor, in a conference held between the lords and commons, soon after the Restoration, having taking notice, "that, as the king had been long deprived of his rights, so had the queen too; and therefore their lordships did earnestly recommend it to the commons, that they would please to put it into a speedy way, that the queen may receive the rents, dues, and profits of her jointure; and the rather, because it was a thing established upon publick treaty betwixt the two crowns; and therefore this nation (and the house especially) were bound, in honour and justice, to take care of it:" his lordship, I say, having taken notice of this, desired also, "that they would take along with them the care of the purchasers; and then added a request, that they would take into their thoughts what his majesty had been deprived of so long, if they thought fit[a]."——The meaning of this was pretty plain. But to disguise it for the present, as the army was on foot, Mr. Hollis, the reporter of

[a] Journal, 8th June, 1660.

their welfare and happiness. Proclamations

the conferences, said, "that the lord chancellor did afterwards give him this explanation of the last clause, 'that there will appear many cases, wherein both the state and the queen have been cozened by the detention of monies in the tenants hands."——Whereupon it was resolved, "That it be referred to a committee, to consider of the state of the queen's majesty's jointure; and to inform themselves what part thereof is sold, or otherwise disposed of, and what remains unsold; what part of that, which is sold, hath been forfeited since the sale, and what not; and, where any part is not forfeited, what consideration will be fit to be had of the respective purchasers; what deceits have been used in the purchasing any part thereof; what rents remain in any of the tenants hands; and likewise to consider of a sum of money, to be presently provided for the queen's majesty's present support." The house of commons, we see, soon commenced good courtiers, at least in their own apprehensions, and were a very different kind of men from those who accused her majesty of high treason, and sequestered the royal revenues! And yet very certain it is, that the committee, to whom the matters relative to the queen were now referred, was made up of many of those men who had the greatest share in those memorable transactions[a]. Such alteration in men's sentiments and behaviour is there under change of times!

In pursuance of this resolution, it was ordered, June 16th following, "that a stay be forthwith made of all waste upon any of the lands of the queens jointure; and on any lands of the kings:" and, a few days after-

[a] Journal, 8th June, 1660.

were issued against the rebels in Ireland, a

wards, it was resolved, "that her majesty be forthwith restored to the possession of several mannors, houses, and lands, purchased by persons whose estates are liable to forfeiture." Among these were the manors of Ampthill, Crowland, Somersham, Nonesuch House and Park, the manor of Richmond, Nonesuch Great Park, manor of West Walton, and the manor of Oldcourt, which had been purchased by colonel Okey, Mr. Walton, Mr. Scroope, major general Lambert, Sir Gregory Norton, the colonels Pride and Whalley, and alderman Tichborne[a]; men obnoxious as judges of the late king, and the supporters of those who had changed the government in 1648. Things, however, did not rest here. The confidence increasing between his majesty, the parliament, and the people, the house of lords resolved, "that the king's and queen's majesties should be, and was thereby, restored to the possession of all his and her honors, jointure, manors, lands, rents, and hereditaments, notwithstanding any sales, alienations, or dispositions, made by any pretended authority whatsoever[b]."——Besides this, acts of parliament passed, for restoring the estates of such noblemen as had been forfeited for their adherence to the royal cause; and they were put in full possession of them, without any consideration of the purchasers. ——With respect to the ecclesiastical revenues, it seems to have been the intention of the house of commons, to have settled part of them for the maintenance of the inferior clergy; to restore others to the church, such especially as had been bought by the chief managers from 1648 to 1660; and to vest the property of

[a] Journal, 23 June, 1660. [b] Parliamentary Hist. vol. XXII. p. 284.

people most hateful to the English; against

the remainder, in those who had bought them on the faith of the parliament, before it was subjected by the army [a]. But the court, having no liking to these projects, with great art and dexterity, put off the conclusion of their resolutions, by promises never intended to be kept, till the parliament was dissolved; whereby all became upon a footing: that is, the whole revenues reverted to the church, in the same unequal proportions as they before had been in.

Thus were men, who had relied on the faith of the public, and advanced their monies for the defence of the rights and liberties of the people, in opposition to regal and ecclesiastical tyranny, deprived of their properties, for no fault but their credulity, in thinking, that the son of a tyrant, and his lawless followers, would have any regard to right and equity in their treatment of their opponents. And thus were the ecclesiastical revenues, which, wisely managed, might have been made useful to the state, and provided well for the state clergy at the same time, permitted to revert into the hands of men to whom they have seldom done good, unless the enabling them to live in pomp, splendor, and luxury, should be thought such.—— There were not more than nine or ten bishops living at the time of the Restoration [b]." These were old; and might have been well provided for during life. No ecclesiastic had any claim, in equity, to their revenues after them; and, consequently, if the present possessors must be deprived of them for past offences, the state should have applied them to the use of the public, whereby the people would have been greatly eased for

[a] See Journals of Aug. 6th and 7th. [b] Barwick's Life, p. 218.

vicious and debauched persons; against

generations to come.—Yea, justice, in part at least, might have been done to the purchasers, even though the revenues were, for the future, to flow in their old channel. "For almost all the leases of the church estates over England were fallen in, there having been no renewal for twenty years. The leases for years were determined: and the wars had carried off so many men, that most of the leases for lives were fallen into the incumbents hands. So that the church estates were in them: and the fines, raised by the renewing the leases, rose to about a million and a half[a]."——Had this money been given to the honest and fair purchasers, it probably would have went far towards making them satisfaction. But as it was pocketted by the bishops, and other ecclesiastics, there was great ground for complaint of injustice and oppression. Very many families were reduced to the deepest poverty and distress, by these proceedings.———Dr. Cornelius Burgess, who had bought many church lands, and rebuilt the dean's house at Wells, at the expence of 1500 or 2000*l.* for which he had been offered 12000 and odd pounds but a year before the Restoration, at this time lost all; and became so poor, that he had not bread to eat[b]. Dr. Barlow imputes this to the divine justice; —but, in truth, it ought to be placed to the iniquity of the times, when truth, justice, equity, and every thing right, had much less regard paid to them, than bigotry, superstition, malice, and revenge.—It may reasonably be supposed, that the purchasers did not submit quietly to this treatment. The above-mentioned Dr. Burgess published several treatises, I find,

[a] Burnet, vol. I. p. 186.

[b] Wood's Athenæ, vol. II. c. 348.

fighting duels; for suppressing disorderly

on this subject. Here are their titles, according to Mr. Wood:

"1. No sacrilege nor sin to aliene or purchase the lands of bishops, or others, whose offices are abolished. Lond. 1659. 2d edit. of this book. There was a 3d edit. Lond. 1660, revised and abbreviated for the service of the parliament.

"2. A case concerning the lawfulness of buying bishops lands.

"3. Another paper, reported to be his, wherein the kings majesty is attempted, by the offer of five hundred thousand pounds, to make good, by an act of parliament, the purchases of bishops, deans, and chapters lands, for 99 years. Printed 1660."

Charles I. we know, consented to something of a like nature, at the treaty of Newport, for the satisfaction of purchasers; though sacrilege and schism were as offensive to his nostrils, as to those of his pious son and successor[a].

"4. Apology for purchasers of lands late of bishops, deans, and chapters. This is a sheet in folio; and therein," says Wood, "is shewn a great deal of reading[b]."

None of these tracts have fallen under my inspection. ——But I have now before me a little treatise, intitled, "*Fides-Anglicana*: or, A plea for the public-faith of these nations. By George Wither." A man held in some esteem, in his own time, as a poet; but since, long since, neglected and forgot in that capacity. This is a sensible, bold piece; and contains many things

[a] See vol. II. of this Work, p. 465.

[b] Wood's Athenæ, vol. II. p. 549.

meetings at taverns, and tippling-houses;

worth perusing. Take the following extract as a specimen.——"As for the lands claimed by the prelates, there is little hope the late purchasers will have any considerable redress in lieu of them, if the said prelates be permitted to proceed as they begin: for (excepting two or three of them, as this remonstrant hath heard, who perhaps desire the episcopal function should be reduced to the pristine constitution) so ambitious are they of pre-heminence, and so greedily hunt after immoderate riches in their old age, that, regarding neither the tears of the oppressed nor orders of parliament[a], nor the kings gracious condescensions published on the behalf of purchasers, they, following the dictates of their own avarice, take up the whole rents, make forcible entries, grant leases to them who will give most, and arbitrarily seize the estates of the purchasers, before the times limited are expired, or the kings commissioners can have time to take their causes into consideration; and before many can have means

[a] In the Journals of the house of commons, it is said, "Whereas complaint hath been made, that several riots have been committed, and forcible entries made, upon the possessions of divers persons, ecclesiastical and temporal, who have been settled in the said possessions by order of one or both houses of parliament, or other lawful or pretended authority; and that without any order of parliament, or legal eviction; to the disturbance of the public peace, whilst these matters are under the consideration of the parliament: it is therefore ordered, by the and commons, in parliament assembled, that no person, or persons, ecclesiastical or temporal, shall presume, indirectly or forcibly, to enter upon or disturb the said possessions, or any of them, till the parliament take order therein, or an eviction be had by due course of law.

"Resolved, That this order be re-committed to the same committee, to put it into the form of a proclamation, to be offered to the king's majesty; omitting the word, 'indirectly.' This was on the 28th of May, 1660. A proclamation was accordingly issued, June 1, following, "for quieting possessions."

for a general thanksgiving, and a general

to present them, or be in a capacity to treat. This remonstrant, in particular, having now lost, about eight years, 300*l. per annum*, in a purchase of their lands who were heretofore called delinquents, which lands cost him as good as almost twenty years purchase in ready money. Also 1681*l.* 15 shillings and eight pence, charged by ordinance upon the excise in course, which, with the interest thereof, hath been eighteen years almost unpaid. And now he is in danger to lose totally between five and six hundred pounds *per annum* more, in prelates lands, in possession and reversion; part whereof coming into possession the last year, being unstockt, and not demisable, by reason the title is disparaged, hath cost him in taxes, with other duties and necessary disbursements therein dispended, more than twice so much as he could raise out of them, by occasion of the said prelates forcible intrusions. The remainder of this remonstrants stock and goods, were, by attachments out of the said prelates own courts (without arrest, or any cause formerly made known, according to equity, or the common-law of this land), illegally (and some of them, as he thinks, feloniously) taken in the night, and carried away by the said prelates officers or agents, being strangers, without any known lawful officer. And the said remonstrant neither being at home, nor having the liberty of his person, or any other means left to defend himself against such outrages, or to maintain his family, but by charity, is, by this usage, and that which hath been thereby occasioned, deprived of as much of his estate, as, being sold to the value, and proportionably distributed, might have satisfied most of his personal debts, had it not been so torn from him by some unconscion-

'pardon, in pursuance of the declaration

able creditors, and the said officers maliciously confederating together to the taking away, at the third part of the value, the remainder of his household stuff, wearing apparel, victuals, and the beds whereon his wife, children, and servants lay; as also the wood in his yard, without any other authority but will and pleasure, for the use of the prelates now tenant; who, being reputed (perhaps because a papist) a true son of the church, is now seated upon that farm which he hath forcibly seized; some of his said agents being so shameless, as to make answer, when the illegality of their proceedings was objected, that this remonstrant should not be left able to prosecute his remedy at law, or words to that effect, which they have made good: insomuch that this remonstrant is compelled, in his old age, to shut up himself in a lone room, without a servant, night and day, both in sickness and health; his wife necessitated, above fifty miles distant, to keep possession, with her maid, in a naked house, standing far from neighbours (and much farther from honest men), and his children and servants being scattered to seek harbour and livelihood where they can get it. This, and much worse, is the remonstrants present outward condition, by delay of the relief hoped for, and by his being thereby disabled to prosecute means of redressing his grievances any further. In the like condition (as he believeth) many thousands are at this day among the said purchasers, lenders, and such as fall under them, by the ruin of those who are impoverished by their wants[a]."——In another place, he says, "either the long parliament had power to make such sales, and grant such securities; or they had not.

[a] Fides Anglicana, p. 35. 8vo. Lond. 1660.

from Breda. The last was a prelude to

If they had such a power, than their sales and securities must be allowed and confirmed; or, at least (if, in law and equity, restitution of what was by them sold ought to be made to the former possessors), then recompence must be given another way; else, injustice is committed; God, and the nation, are dishonoured; and many thousand families, and innocent persons, will be unmercifully exposed to ruin.—On the other part, if it should be granted, that the foresaid parliament assumed and exercised, wilfully, a power not thereto belonging, to the damnifying of those who confided in them; that parliament's successors ought then, in justice, to award satisfaction out of their estates who arrogated such an unwarrantable power, as far as they will extend, if they can be distinguished from those among them who were guiltless. And if that distinction cannot be made, or the damages exceed their abilities; then condign satisfaction should be made out of their common purse who intrusted those with public faith: for the greatest part of the people have often been too careless upon whom they impose that confidence; and, perhaps, will be more wary, when they have well paid for it, what persons they chuse; and be so wise, as to consider, that they who have not wit enough to govern their private estates, or they who consume many thousands of pounds in alehouses, inns, and taverns (whose reckonings, as this remonstrant hears, are not yet paid), to procure themselves to be elected by feastings and drunkenness, had, probably, some worse ends in being so prodigal, than a sincere intention to serve God, their king, and their country[a]."—But all that this writer got by speaking freely

[a] Fides Anglicana, p. 14. 8vo. Lond 1660.

on this subject, was, a confinement in Newgate, and afterwards in the Tower; where he was debarred pen, ink, and paper; and an impeachment was ordered, by the house of commons, to be drawn up against him [a]. ——So dangerous a thing is it to speak truth, at certain seasons! Happily, however, there are persons who will dare to do it at all times; and, thereby, keep in some awe lawless oppressors. May the praise of such be eternal!——Let us now hear lord Clarendon's account of this matter.——"The old bishops, who remained alive," says he, "and such deans and chapters as were numerous enough for the corporation, who had been long kept fasting, had now appetites proportionable. Most of them were very poor, and had undergone great extremities; some of the bishops having supported themselves, and their families, by teaching schools, and submitting to the like low condescensions. And others saw, that if they died before they were enabled to make some provision for them, their wives and children must unavoidably starve: and therefore they made haste to enter upon their own. And now an ordinance of parliament had not strength enough to batter an act of parliament. They called their old tenants to account for rent, and to renew their estates if they had a mind to it; for most old leases were expired in the long continuance of the war, and the old tenants had been compelled, either to purchase a new right and title from the state (when the ordinance was passed for taking away all bishops, deans, and chapters, and for selling all the lands that belonged to them), or to sell their present estates to those who had purchased the reversion and inheritance thereof: so that both the one and the other, the old tenants

[a] Wood's Athenæ, vol. II. c. 392.

and the new purchasers, repaired to the true owners as soon as the king was restored; the former expecting to be restored again to the possession of what they had sold, under the unreasonable pretence of a tenant right (as they called it), because there remained yet (as in many cases there did) a year or some other term of their old leases unexpired, and because they had, out of conscience, forborn to buy the inheritance of the church, which was offered to them: and for the refusal thereof, and such a reasonable fine as was usual, they hoped to have a new lease, and to be re-admitted to be tenants to the church. The other, the purchasers (amongst which there were some very infamous persons), appeared as confident, and did not think that, according to the clemency practised towards all sorts of men, it could be thought justice, that they should lose the entire sum they had disbursed upon the faith of that government which the whole kingdom submitted to; but that they should, instead of the inheritance they had an ill title to, have a good lease for lives, or years, granted to them by them who had now the right; at least, that upon the old rent and moderate fines, they should be continued tenants to the church, without any regard to those who had sold both their possession, and with that all the right or title that they might pretend to, for a valuable consideration. And they had the more hope of this, because the king had granted a commission, under the great seal of England, to some lords of the council, and to other eminent persons, to interpose and mediate with the bishops and clergy in such cases as ought not to be prosecuted with rigour. But the bishops and clergy, concerned, had not the good fortune to please their old or their new tenants. They had been very barbarously used themselves; and that had too much quenched all ten-

derness towards others. They did not enough distinguish between persons; nor did the suffering any man had undergone for fidelity to the king, or his affection to the church, eminently expressed, often prevail for the mitigation of his fine; or if it did sometimes, three or four stories of the contrary, and in which there had been some unreasonable hardness used, made a greater noise, and spread farther, than their examples of charity and moderation. And as honest men did not usually fare the better for any merit; so the purchasers, who offered most money, did not fare the worse for all the villanies they had committed. And two or three unhappy instances of this kind, brought scandal upon the whole church; as if they had been all guilty of the same excesses, which they were far from. And by this means the new bishops, who did not all follow the precedents made by the old, underwent the same reproaches: and many of them who had most adhered to their order, and for so doing had undergone, for twenty years together, sundry persecutions and oppressions, were not, in their present passion, so much pleased with the renewing it as they expected to have been. Yet upon very strict examination of the true grounds of all those misprisions (except some few instances which cannot be defended) there will be found more passion than justice in them; and that there was even a necessity to raise as much money as could be, justly, for the repairing the cathedrals, which were all miserably ruinated or defaced; and for the entirely building up many houses of the prebends, which had been pulled down or let fall to the ground. And those ways, much more of those monies, which were raised by fines, were issued and expended, than what went into the private purses of them who had a right to them, and had need enough

the famous act of indemnity and oblivion[43],

of them. But the time began to be froward again, and all degrees of men were hard to be pleased; especially when they saw one *classis* of men restored to more than they had ever lost, and preferred to a plenty they had never been acquainted with; whilst themselves remained remediless after so many sufferings, and without any other testimony of their courage and fidelity, than in the ruin of their fortunes, and the sale of their inheritance[a]." Such is his lordship's account of this business: an account obscure, confused, and imperfect; but yet sufficient to give the attentive reader light enough to perceive that great injustice and oppression were exercised in it.——"He that lends upon public faith, is security for his own money," says one; "and can blame none, more than himself, if never paid. Common debts, like common lands, lying ever most neglected[b]." The purchasers had but too much cause to think so at this time. Though, great as the public debt at present is, it is to be hoped, the public faith will never more be so scandalously broken.

[43] The act of indemnity and oblivion.] The king, in his declaration from Breda, says, "We do, by these presents, declare, that we do grant a free and general pardon, which we are ready, upon demand, to pass, under our great seal of England, to all our subjects, of what degree or quality soever,——excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by parliament." The house of commons, in consequence of this, "Resolved, That the house doth declare, that, in

[a] Clarendon's Continuation, vol. II. p. 183. [b] Osborn's Works, p. 17. 8vo. Lond. 1673.

so essential to the security and safety of

the name of themselves and of all the commons of England, they do lay hold of his majesty's free and general pardon, tendered in his gracious declaration, given under his majesty's sign manual and privy signet, at his court at Breda, with reservation to except such persons as shall be excepted, by this present parliament, in the act of general pardon and oblivion." —It was, moreover, "Resolved, That this house, with their speaker, do attend his majesty, and present this their vote and declaration to him; with their humble desire, that it may be as effectual to all his subjects in particular (except as before excepted), as if every of them had at any time, since the first of May last, personally laid hold upon his majesty's grace and pardon; and by public act declared their doing so; and that his majesty would be graciously pleased to declare his acceptance hereof accordingly; and, by his royal proclamation, to assure the hearts of his subjects of the same[a]." A proclamation, accordingly, was issued: but the bill stuck long in the house, through difference of sentiment concerning the persons to be excepted; and some disputes with the lords, relative to the meaning of the proclamation for summoning the persons who sat in judgment on the late king, to surrender themselves. This excited uneasiness, jealousies, and fears. To remove these, his majesty very wisely sent a message to the commons, by Mr. Secretary Morrice; in which (after highly applauding their proceedings, and magnifying their affections to him, as well as his own regard to his people), he says,—— "It is evident, that all we have or do offer, doth not

[a] Journal, 7th June, 1660.

the king and the people.——His majesty,

enough compose the minds of our people; nor, in their opinions, can their security be provided for, till the act of indemnity and oblivion be passed: and we find great industry is used by those, who do not wish that peace to the kingdom they ought to do, to persuade our good subjects, that we have no mind to make good our promises, which, in truth, we desire to perform for our own sake as well as theirs: and we do therefore very earnestly recommend it to you, that all possible expedition be used in the passing that most necessary act, whereby our good subjects generally will be satisfied, that their security is in their own hands, and depends upon their future actions; and that they are free for all that is past; and so all the endeavours of ill men will be disappointed, which would perswade them not to do well now, because they have heretofore done amiss. And we are the more engaged to this our recommendation, because, upon the reflection of your eminent zeal and affection for our service, and hearty concurrence with us in all we have desired from you, men are apt to persuade others, though they do not believe it themselves, that the passing the act is therefore deferred, because we do not enough press the dispatch of it, which we do desire from our heart, and are confident you will the sooner do, upon this our earnest recommendation[a]." The commons were very desirous of complying with his majesty's inclinations:——but the lords, full of pride and desires of revenge, were more backward, though the public safety evidently depended on it. To quicken them, therefore, the king went to their house, July 27,

[a] Journal, June 18, 1660.

moreover, consented to part with the court

and, after reading to them part of his declaration from Breda, he added, "My lords, if you do not join with me in extinguishing this fear, which keeps the hearts of men awake, and apprehensive of safety and security; you keep me from performing my promise, which, if I had not made, I am perswaded, neither I nor you had been now here. I pray, let us not deceive those who brought or permitted us to come together. I knew well there were some men who could neither forgive themselves, nor be forgiven by us; and I thank you for your justice towards those the immediate murderers of my father: and I will deal truly with you, I never thought of excepting any other. I pray think well upon what I have offered, and the benefit you and I have received from that offer; and encourage and oblige all other persons, by not excluding them from the benefit of this act. This mercy and indulgence is the best way to bring them to a true repentance, and to make them more severe to themselves, when they find we are not so to them. It will make them good subjects to me, and good friends and neighbours to you; and we have then all our end, and you shall find this the securest expedient to prevent future mischief. Therefore I do earnestly desire and conjure you to depart from all particular animosities and revenge, or memory of past provocations; and that you will pass this act without other exceptions than of those who were immediately guilty of the murder of my father[a]."

This interposition, however irregular, was highly grateful to the people; especially as it induced the

[a] Phillips's Continuation, p. 738.

of wards and liveries, and tenures *in capite*,

lords to consent to the act, which received the royal assent, Aug. 29, 1660, and is entitled, "An Act of free and general pardon, indemnity, and oblivion." It is strongly and clearly expressed: but the crime of rebellion, as having been committed in England, is not mentioned in it.———A late writer is pleased to style this bill, "An Act of clemency; the greatest that ever was shewn from a king to a rebellious crew, when he had them in his power, and could crush them down so low as never to rise again. It has been a dispute," continues he, "amongst our historians, whether this act of general pardon did not more expose the kings weakness, than his merciful disposition. Could any prince, say they, so far forget himself, as to pardon more than one half of his fathers absolute murderers? His own and brothers long banishment, to seek relief and even bread from foreign princes, where they were slighted and bandied about, from court to court, seeking rest and finding none; and where they infallibly must have starved, but that the wretched remains of the loyal party in England spared them somewhat, by way of contribution, to support them, out of their own shattered incomes. All these circumstances rendered it scarce possible they could be forgot so soon as they were; and, on the king's side, we may say, buried in eternal oblivion[a]."

In another place, I may speak of the gratitude of this monarch:——here I shall observe, 1. That it does not appear, from the preamble of the act, that a rebellious crew was intended to be pardoned. "The kings most excellent majesty, taking into his gracious and

[a] Parliamentary History, vol XXII. p. 462.

and by knight's service and purveyance (so

serious consideration," says the preamble, "the long and great troubles, discords, and wars, that have for many years past been in this kingdom; and that divers of his subjects are, by occasion thereof, and otherwise, fallen into, and be obnoxious to, great pains and penalties;" &c.

2. The persons, pardoned by this act, were as well those who had acted by virtue of the authority of the present king, and his father; as such who had derived their power from the parliament, or the protectors.

3. More than one half of the murderers of the late king, if so they are to be called, were not pardoned.—Mr. Coke has justly observed, "that the Convention took terrible vengeance on the judges of Charles I. For though they did not all suffer in their persons; scarce any of them but forfeited their estates[a]." This, and imprisonment, the lot of many of them, must be as cruel as death to men of spirit, accustomed to power and affluence. That no more of Charles's tryers were put to death, was, because the son could not catch them.

4. It was not clemency that excited the concern of his majesty in the Bill of Indemnity; but necessity, and personal safety. This lord Clarendon himself asserts. "It was very evident," says he, "to the king himself, and to dispassioned men, that no person was so much concerned, though all were enough, that there should be no longer delay in passing the Act of Indemnity, as the king himself was; there being no progress made in any other business by the disorder and ill humour that grew out of that. There was no

[a] Coke's Detection, vol. II. p. 100. 8vo. Lond. 1694.

vexatious and oppressive to the nobility

attempt to be made towards disbanding the army, until the Act of Indemnity should be first passed: nor could they begin to pay off the navy, till they were ready to pay off the arrears of the army. This was the *remora* in all the counsels: whilst there wanted not those who infused jealousies into the minds of the soldiers, and into the city, that the king had no purpose ever to consent to the Act of Indemnity; which was looked upon as the only universal security for the peace of the nation: and till that was done, no man could say that he dwelt at home, nor the king think himself in any good posture of security[a]."

5. The people, by calling home his majesty and his followers, had merited highly from him; and, consequently, were intitled not only to pardon, but thanks, from his hands. This appeared so strongly to a very sensible writer, that, speaking of one, who said, "that king Charles entered upon a nation of rebels, and that the lives and estates of the whole people were forfeited:"—I say, speaking of this matter, he cries out, —"Observe, O ye Britons! the spirit of this writer; and observe, that this was the first compliment which that prince, and his vagabond crew, at their return, most thankfully paid to your generous ancestors! And from hence learn the gratulations you would meet with yourselves. Remember how this company of strollers, just rescued from the imminent danger of starving, insulted and spurned your brave forefathers; declaring themselves absolute masters of the kingdom; and that the whole nation was indebted to their unparallel'd mercy for pardon and remission of their lives and for-

[a] Clarendon's Continuation, vol. II. p. 132.

and gentry), in consideration of an excise[44]

tunes. This was the conduct and gratitude of Charles II. at the late restoration; and such has been the constant temper and principle of the Stuart family. Our ancestors, most miserably disappointed, instead of receiving the thanks and love of this prince for recalling him, perceived they were only to be abused and menaced for his former expulsion. They saw plenty of lawyers and clergy, who declared the whole nation rebels and traytors. And this business was pushed with such vehemence forwards, that, at last," as this author reminds us, "the house of commons, in a body, were glad to attend upon their new king, and, in the name of themselves and all the commons of England, to lay hold on his gracious declaration from Breda[a]." Had these considerations occurred to the mind of the gentleman who occasioned them, he would never, doubtless, have talked in the way he has done. But they were not to be found amongst his collections. ——Charles received a favour, a mighty favour, in being called home, placed on a throne, and amply provided for:—the people nothing but a security from the effects of their folly, in restoring him without terms, conditions, or limitations. On which side then was the favour? who was most under obligations? The act however, as things were, was wise, necessary, and popular.

[44] The king consented to the abolishing the court of wards and liveries, in consideration of an excise.] The feudal law, was, very probably, introduced by the Saxons; but, certainly, fully established by William the

[a] Letter to Mr. Carte, by a gentleman of Cambridge, p. 111. 8vo. Lond 1748.

on liquors, to be paid chiefly by the com-

Norman. In many respects it was favourable to liberty;——in others, a yoke of intolerable slavery.—— "Tenure by homage, fealty, and escuage, is to hold by knights service," says Littleton; "and it draweth to it ward, marriage, and relief." That this was a grievous burthen on the nobility and gentry, will not be doubted by such as know, that the king, in virtue of this tenure, had the wardship of all infant heirs male, and the benefit of their estates till they arrived at the age of twenty-one years: of female heirs, till they were sixteen years, if they so long remained unmarried: and the power of marrying both the one and the other, to whom he pleased: as also a year or half a year's rent on their being at age, for their relief: at which time they were to sue out their livery; which was attended with many hardships and inconveniences.

In the time of Henry VIII. a court of wards and liveries was erected; which produced multitudes of complaints, by reason of its rigorous proceedings. The owners of these lands were very sensible of their bad condition: but there was no remedy. The crown was in possession of a very great power: and the crown was unwilling to part with it, but upon valuable considerations. When the cause of Charles I. declined, the court of wards, of course, was laid aside, and no proceedings were held in it: consequently, the possessors of lands by tenure of knight's service, by much the most numerous in the kingdom, were liable to mighty forfeitures. This the parliament was aware of; and this they were determined to guard against. An act of parliament therefore was framed for taking away all military tenures, with their various incidents, fruits, and dependencies attending them; and turning them

mon people. This, however, was looked into free and common soeage[a].——This was an enlargement of the liberty of the subject; and an acquisition of great consequence to the nation, or rather to that part of it which possessed the honours, manors, tenements, and hereditaments released from the feudal tenure.———But the parliament, though they took care of themselves, left the lower class of people as they were; yea, put them in a worse condition, on account of the subjecting them to an excise as the price of the great men's freedom. If the court of wards bore hard on the possessors of manors, lordships, and royalties; these, in their turn, bore as hard, perhaps harder, on their own tenants, and treated them with equal or greater severity.—"The Norman conquest and tyranny," says Mr. Wall, in his letter to Milton, dated Causham, May 26, 1659, "is continued upon the nation, without any thought of removing it. I mean the tenure of lands by copyhold, and holding for life under a lord, or rather, tyrant of a manour: whereby people care not to improve their land by cost upon it, not knowing how soon themselves, or theirs, may be outed it; nor what the house is in which they live, for the same reason: and they are far more enslaved to the lord of the manour, than the rest of the nation is to a king or supream magistrate[b]."——— The observation is strong, just, striking, and very obvious. It was, however, taken no notice of. On the contrary, to hinder tenants of manors from claiming or expecting any relief, it was expressly inserted, in the act for abolishing the court of wards, "that

[a] Stat. 12 Caroli II. c. 24.

[b] Preface to the 2d edition of Iconoclastes, p. 6. 4to. Lond. 1756.

upon as a favour; and his majesty received

this act, or any thing therein contained, shall not alter or change any tenure by copyhold of court-roll, or any services incident thereunto." So cautious was the legislature of the rich, so unmindful of those in lower circumstances, who are constantly as it were under the harrow, and liable to forfeitures and seizures, even for no real damages, through ignorance or inadvertency, on their own parts; or the power, craft, and insolence of those under whom they thus precariously hold what they possess for valuable considerations. ———But this was not the worst. The people of all ranks and degrees were obliged constantly to pay for that freedom from the feudal tenure, which, by this act, the rich and the great, and they alone, were intitled to or availed by. What was it to the lower ranks of Englishmen, by what tenure their superiors held those lands which gave them so much power or preeminence? What were they the better for their being changed from military service, into free and common socage? If they were not bettered thereby, nor by any thing in the act relating to it, as evidently they were not—it was highly unjust and unreasonable that they should be excised, in order that the estates of noblemen and gentlemen should be exonerated of burdens to which they had been liable from the conquest. —Yet, plain as all this was, it is said, in the body of the act, "And now, to the intent and purpose that his majesty, his heirs and successors, may receive a full and ample recompence and satisfaction, as well for the profits of the said court of wards, and the tenures, wardships, liveries, primer-seisins, ouster le mains, and other the premisses and perquisites incident thereunto; and for all arrears any way due for the same; as also

for it the acknowledgments of the house of

for all and all manner of purveyance and provisions herein before-mentioned, and intended to be taken away and abolished; and all sums of money due, or pretended to be due, or payable for and in respect of any compositions for the same: be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that there shall be paid to the kings majesty, his heirs and successors, for ever hereafter, in recompence, as aforesaid, the several rates, impositions, duties, and charges herein after expressed, and in manner and form following," &c.—— The people then, that their betters might be at ease, were loaded, by this act, with an excise on ale, beer, cyder, perry, mead, vinegar, strong waters, coffee, tea, chocolate, and sherbet.——But laws are made by the rich; who too often have consulted their own benefit, more than that of the public; and preferred their particular and private interest, to the ease and tranquillity of the community: which, beast of burden like, has tamely submitted to be loaded and loaded, *ad infinitum*.

This remarkable bill did not pass the house of commons without great opposition. "November 21, 1660," says a certain writer, "the commons went again on the business of the court of wards; when Sir Heneage Finch opened the debate, by moving, that the annual income to be settled on the king, in lieu thereof, might be raised by an excise on beer and ale, and to take away purveyance also. And that half of this excise might be settled for the king's life, and the other half for ever on the crown. This motion was seconded by Mr. Buckley and Mr. Pierepoint; but Sir John Frederick, Mr. Jolliffe, Sir William Vincent, Mr. Annesley, and some others, spoke against it. The last-named gentleman, saying, that if this bill was

commons.——To these things was added

carried, every man, who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow, must pay excise to excuse the court of wards, which would be a greater grievance upon all, than the court of wards was to a few. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper spoke against the court of wards, and for the excise. Mr. Prynne against the excise; saying, it was not fit to make all housekeepers hold *in capite*, and to free the nobility: and inveighed passionately against the excise; adding, that those lands which ought to pay, being held *in capite*, should pay still. Mr. Bamfield spoke on the same side, and said, he was against an everlasting excise, and for laying the tax on lands *in capite*. Mr. Bainton also was against an excise; saying, if it was carried so, they might expect, that, one time or other, there would be some strange commotions by the common people about it: that he was rather for keeping the court of wards, regulated in its proceedings, than submit to an excise, which, if it was kept up, an army must be so too to sustain it. Sir Thomas Clarges was against an excise; saying, that the rebellion in Naples came from impositions and excise. The debate was ended by Serjeant Maynard, and Mr. Trevor, who both spoke for an excise; tho' the last said, that nothing but the court of wards taking away should have moved him to it. At last, the question being called for, the house divided, and it was carried, by two voices only, for an excise; the numbers being 151 against 149[a]." So near were the people to have escaped an unequitable law.—— Since the writing the above, I have observed, in turning over the Journals, that it was " Resolved, Aug. 4,

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XXIII. p. 21.

That it be referred, to a select committee, to take consideration upon the whole debate of this house, of all rates, and what else shall be offered to them; and, thereupon, to apportion a rate upon the several counties, as equally and indifferently as they possibly can, according to the trust reposed them in by this house, for the raising one hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, to be settled on his majesty, in compensation for wardships and liveries, and the court of wards; and to report the same to the house[a]." Accordingly, a paper, containing an apportionment of one hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, to be settled on his majesty, in compensation for the court of wards (being brought in by the committee to whom the same was referred), was read the 8th of November, and is entered in the Journal. How the intentions of the house of commons were changed; and by what artifices an excise, an everlasting excise, was brought in, instead of a land-tax which would hardly have been felt, the proportion of Yorkshire being but 5,800*l. per annum*, the reader may learn from the following quotation from Mr. Hampden:

"Soon after the restoration of King Charles II." says he, "the house of commons expressed a desire, as their predecessors had often done, to take away the court of wards; and they had long deliberations how to settle on the crown a recompence for it. Many ways were proposed (as is usual in such cases); but, at last, it was thought best to lay it on land: and they agreed the sum to be one hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, and appointed a committee to settle an equal rate on every county towards it. This would have procured another great advantage to the nation, and especially

[a] Journal.

to the associated counties, and others, that are over-taxed in the monthly assessment, by bringing in a just and equal way of taxing all the lands of England according to their true value. The committee, in pursuance of the order of the house, having taken great pains in settling a new rate, at length agreed upon one, and reported it to the house, and it is entered in the Journal. But while they were taking all these pains, the court was privately informed, by some self-designing men, that it would be of much greater advantage to them, to get a grant of the excise upon beer and ale, since the value of that was unknown: and they assured them, that it would amount to a sum vastly beyond what the parliament intended them in lieu of the court of wards. These men encouraged the court to undertake this work; and promised their assistance and endeavours for the success of their proposal. Hereupon the court resolved to push for the settling of the whole excise; and by threatning privately the members of that house with a dissolution; and by giving to some considerable places, they got a question put, to settle one moiety of the excise (which had been invented [a] and raised on evident necessity, in the time

[a] The first excise, raised by authority of parliament, was in the year 1643. In an ordinance of the lords and commons, dated Sept. 11, 1643, it is said, "The lords and commons, assembled in parliament, taking into their serious consideration the great necessity of providing present supply for the preservation of this kingdom, our religion, laws, and liberties from utter ruin and destruction;——do hereby ordain, and declare, that the several rates and charges, in the schedule hereunto annexed contained, shall be set and laid upon all the commodities within this realm, over and above all customs, and other duties, due and payable for the same."——The schedule then follows; which contains, what is called, the excise and new impost, which was continually explained, amended, and encreased, during the war; though great complaints were made by the people, and promises, by both houses, "that whenever they should be enabled to settle the peace of the kingdom, and to overcome the engagements thereof in some

a declaration concerning ecclesiastical af-

of the civil war, and not granted longer than a few months) upon the crown in fee, in lieu of the court of wards; and the other moiety on the king for his life. The former part, to give the moiety in fee, in recompence of the wardships, was carryed in the affirmative; tho', in truth, it was the giving 300,000*l.* a year for one; for which that house is justly blamed, and will be so, as ill husbands for the kingdom, and unfaithful to their trust. A great parliament man, late deceased, undertook to make out, it was giving away the barley land of *England*. The other part, viz. to give the other moiety for life (as much as that house was influenced by the court), was first carried in the negative; which enraged them to such a degree, that, the next day, a message was sent to the house, to let them know, they were to be dissolved a month after. This was a strange and unusual message: they might have been quickened to dispatch publick bills, and told the session would be short; but the message, as sent, put men throughout the kingdom on supplanting them.

some good measure, they should then make it appear to the whole world, how much more ready they are to ease the people of this charge, than they were willing at first to impose it."——This declaration is dated Feb. 22, 1646. In some little measure they made good their words;——but the excise being not wholly abolished, tumults arose, and riots were made. Whereupon the two houses, by an ordinance of the 28th of Aug. 1647, among other things, "desired Sir Thomas Fairfax, general of the whole forces of the kingdom, to order and enjoin all colonels, captains, officers, and souldiers, under his command, upon application made to them, speedily to suppress all such tumults, &c. and to apprehend all such rioters, that they may be proceeded against according to law." Fairfax issued out his order accordingly, Sept. 4, 1647. It was in vain, after this, to contend. The excise continued under the several forms of government.——Necessity being still the plea——till the Restoration: from which time, the necessity has continued; and, probably, will continue, for—ever and ever.

fairs [45], highly acceptable to the body of

If the members staid in town (and go they could not, without leave of the house), their several interests in their counties were endangered: if they went down, the settling the excise, for life, might be carried in their absence. This was the dilemma the court had brought them too; and, accordingly, it was granted before that session ended [a]."———Mr. Hampden did not compute too largely: for Dr. Davenant makes the produce of the single duty on beer and ale, in the year 1689, to amount to 694,476*l.* 2*s.* 6½*d* [b]. So that the crown was a great gainer.

[45] A declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs.] The bulk of the clergy at the Restoration, though presbyterian, were friends to domination, pre-eminence, affluence, and the other good things which the clergy in general, every where, take a particular pleasure in: though it must be owned, that, for the most part, they were more diligent in their functions, and more exemplary in their behaviour, than those who went before, or such as succeeded them. These men had been tyrannized over by the bishops before the civil war; and therefore, as it was natural, raised a cry against them, and helped forward their destruction. And a good deed had it been in them, if they themselves had known how to improve it aright. But they were strangers to this knowledge. Tyranny over conscience still subsisted; and they themselves acted the same part, as far as they dared, which they had condemned in others. For no sooner did sects, the offspring of liberty, arise, and men of sense give vent to their opi-

[a] See Use and Abuse of Parliaments, vol. I. p. 68. 8vo. Lond. 1744.
[b] Discourses on the Public Revenues, vol. I. p. 74. 8vo. Lond. 1698.

the then clergy, and breathing a spirit pleasing to them, and the public in ge-

nions; but these gentlemen were alarmed, and complained of it as a hardship, that errors, heresies, and blasphemies, should be permitted in a Christian land. They had some attention payed to them for a time; and great was the esteem in which they were held by their followers. But when the commonwealth was erected, their wings were in some good degree clipt; and they were no longer permitted to vex or oppress. They became now, of course, enemies of the government; and joined in every attempt to restore the exiled prince: though, had they at all considered, they must have seen, that they had little reason to expect any advantages thereby. But nothing is more blind than revenge. By persuasions, by example, and by all the methods they had in their power, they were very instrumental in bringing in the king; and, therefore, were intitled to some degree of favour.——Episcopacy was restored immediately with the monarchy; and with episcopacy, it was to be feared, the old government and worship, which the clergy, in general, were far from approving, would be revived, and they be obliged either to conform, or relinquish their livings. To ease them of these apprehensions, the house of commons had ordered in bills for the better maintenance of ministers; and for the maintenance of the true protestant reformed religion; and for the suppression of popery, superstition, profaneness, and other disorders and innovations in worship and ceremonies[a]. But the court chose not to let the parliament have the settlement of ecclesiastical affairs. It would not have

[a] Journals, 27th June, and 6th of Aug. 1660.

neral.——So that his majesty was held in high estimation for wisdom and goodness

answered what was in view. To satisfy them, however, and the clergy, who were greatly favoured by them, Sir Allen Broadrick communicated a message, Aug. 6th, to the house of commons, from his majesty, which he reduced into writing, on desire, and is as followeth:— "I am commanded, by his majesty, to inform this house, that his majesty had written to the several bishops, deans, and chapters, not to let leases of any impropriate tythes, till maintenance were settled on the several vicarages, or curates places, where no vicarages were endowed, to the value of fourscore pounds *per annum*, or more[a]." The letter was then produced; and it is entered in the Journal. Thanks were hereupon ordered to his majesty for his gracious message; and it was resolved, "That the committee, to whom the preparing of a bill, for the restraining the granting leases by ecclesiastical persons, do hasten the perfecting thereof: and that they likewise prepare, and bring in another bill, taking notice in the preamble thereof, of the substance of his majesty's message this day communicated; and making provision, pursuant thereunto, for settling a competent maintenance, out of impropriations and appropriations, for the persons who shall officiate the cure in such rectories."—The house having also resolved, "That the kings majesty be humbly desired to call such a number of divines, as his majesty shall think fit, to advise concerning matters of religion[b]: and his majesty having approved thereof[c], a declaration, concerning "ecclesiastical affairs," was

[a] Journals, 27th June, and 6th of Aug. 1660. [b] Id. July 20th, 1660.
[c] Id. July 21.

by the generality of the nation, who were now extremely pleased with the prospect

published preparatory thereunto.' It is dated Whitehall, Oct. 25, 1660, and is couched in terms very moderate. His majesty, after having expressed great respect for the church of England as formerly established, and mentioned the esteem in which it was held by the reformed churches abroad, who, with great zeal, says he, wish it restored to its old dignity and veneration; proceeds in the following manner: "When we were in Holland, we were attended by many grave and learned ministers from hence, who were looked upon as the most able and principal assertors of the presbyterian opinions, with whom we had as much conference as the multitude of affairs, which were then upon us, would permit us to have: and, to our great satisfaction and comfort, found them persons full of affection to us, of zeal for the peace of the church and state, and neither enemies (as they have been given out to be) to episcopacy or liturgy; but modestly to desire such alterations in either, as, without shaking foundations, might best allay the present distempers, which the indisposition of the time, and the tenderness of some mens consciences, had contracted. For the better doing whereof, we did intend, upon our first arrival in this kingdom, to call a synod of divines, as the most proper expedient to provide a proper remedy for all those differences and dissatisfactions which had, or should, arise in matters of religion: and, in the mean time, we published, in our declaration from Breda, a liberty to tender consciences; and that no man should be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matter of religion, which do not disturb

of possessing their religion and liberties without molestation.——But the good opi-

the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us for the full granting of that indulgence.———We must, for the honour of all those of either perswasion, with whom we have conferred, declare, that the professions and desires of all, for the advancement of piety and true godliness, are the same; their professions of zeal for the peace of the church, the same; of affection and duty to us, the same: they all approve episcopacy; they all approve a set form of liturgy; and they all disapprove and dislike the sin of sacrilege, and the alienation of the revenue of the church. We need not profess the high affection and esteem we have for the church of England, as it is established by law, the reverence to which hath supported us, with God's blessing, against many temptations: nor do we think that reverence in the least degree diminished by our condescensions, not peremptorily to insist on some particulars of ceremony: and therefore,

" 1. We do declare, our purpose and resolution is, and shall be, to promote the power of godliness; to encourage the exercises of religion, both public and private: and to take care that the Lords day be applied to holy exercises, without unnecessary divertisements; and that insufficient, negligent, and scandalous ministers be not permitted in the church.

" 2. Because the dioceses, especially some of them, are thought to be of too large extent; we will appoint such a number of suffragan bishops, in every diocese, as shall be sufficient for the due performance of their work.

nion of the king, and the excellency of his

" 3. No bishop shall ordain, or exercise any part of jurisdiction, which appertains to the censures of the church, without the advice and assistance of the presbyters: and no chancellor, commissary, or official, as such, shall exercise any act of spiritual jurisdiction in these cases; viz. excommunication, absolution, or wherein any of the ministry are concerned, with reference to their pastoral charge.

" 4. To the end that the deans and chapters may be the better fitted to afford counsel and assistance to the bishops, both in ordination and the other offices mentioned before; we will take care that those preferments be given to the most learned and pious presbyters of the diocese; and moreover, that an equal number (to those of the chapter) of the most learned, pious, and discreet presbyters of the same diocese, annually chosen by the major vote of all the presbyters of that diocese present at such elections, shall be always advising and assisting, together with those of the chapter, in all ordinations, and in every part of jurisdiction which appertains to the censures of the church, and at all other solemn and important actions.

" 5. We will take care that confirmation be rightly and solemnly performed, by the information, and with the consent, of the minister of the place, who shall admit none to the Lords Supper till they have made a credible profession of their faith, and promised obedience to the will of God, according as it is expressed in the considerations of the Rubrick before the Catechism.

" 6. No bishop shall exercise any arbitrary power; or do or impose any thing upon the clergy or the people, but what is according to the known law of the land.

government, was of no long continuance.

" 7. We will appoint an equal number of learned divines, of both perswasions, to review the Liturgy, and to make such alterations as shall be thought most necessary, and some additional forms (in the scripture phrase as near as may be) suited unto the nature of the several parts of worship; and that it may be left to the ministers choice to use one or other at his discretion.

" 8. Concerning ceremonies——We shall leave all decisions and determinations of that kind, if they shall be thought necessary for a perfect and entire unity and uniformity throughout the nation, to the advice of a national synod, which shall be duly called, after a little time, and a mutual conversation between persons of different perswasions, hath mollified those distempers, abated those sharpnesses, and extinguished those jealousies, which make men unfit for those consultations. And, upon such advice, we shall use our best endeavours, that such laws may be established, as may best provide for the peace of the church and state. Provided, that none shall be denied the sacrament of the Lords Supper, though they do not use the gesture of kneeling in the act of receiving.—— In the mean time, the cross in baptism, bowing at the name of Jesus, the use of the surplice (except in the royal chapel, cathedral or collegiate churches, or colledges in the universities), canonical subscriptions, and the oath of canonical obedience, were left indifferent, and none were to be compelled to use them, or suffer for not doing it[a]."

Thus were the clergy flattered and cajoled by the hopes of sharing in the lucrative posts of the church, and at the same time retaining their principles! Thus

[a] Kennet's Register, p. 289.

For the convention parliament being dissolved, and another of different principles

were the people flattered that a spirit of moderation, in ecclesiastical matters, would indeed take place, and they themselves be left at liberty to follow their own judgments.

But moderation was the talk at this time; as we may judge by the following passage, in a sermon of Dr. Sheldon's, bishop of London, preached before the king, June 28, 1660.——"That is the best and most Christian memory," says he, "that, as Cesar's, forgets nothing but injuries. Let us all seriously and sadly look back, consider and bemoan one another, for what we have mutually done and suffered from each other. Let us all be sorry, and all mend; perfectly forgiving what is past, and returning to as great kindness as ever; that so, by all good and mutual offices, we may make amends for our former animosities. Shall God, so great, so glorious, after so high and many provocations condescend to be at peace with us; and shall we, poor worms, be at enmity among ourselves for trifles, to the hazard of the comforts of this life, and the hopes of a better? Shall we retain the memory of former unkindness, and make a public act of oblivion, which we expect, a public lie, without either fear of God, or shame of the world? Shall we change one war into another, the open into a secret one, hostility into treachery, and, by pretending peace, only smooth the way to supplantation? This is the most unmanly thing in the world."——But to proceed.——This declaration was so highly acceptable to the house of commons, that it was "Resolved, nem. con. Nov. 6, 1660, That the humble and hearty acknowledgments and thanks of this house be presented to his majesty,

chosen, his majesty began to be seen in quite another light.

by the whole house, for his majesty's gracious care and indulgence expressed to his people, in his late gracious declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs[a]. And it, at the same time, was referred to a committee, to bring in a bill to make the same effectual." But this, being quite opposite to the real intentions of the court, came to nothing[b].

[a] Journal. [b] See Clarendon's Continuation, vol. II. p. 143.

END OF VOL. IV.

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## ERRATUM.

Page 16, line 11, note, *for* 1764, O. S. *read* 1647, O. S.

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